THE MILITANT CHVRCH, TRIVMPHANT OVER THE DRAGON AND HIS ANGELS.

Presented in a SERMON, Preached to both Houses of *Parliament* assembled on Friday the 21. of *July*, 1643.

BEING

An extraordinary day of publik Humiliation appointed by them, throughout *London* and *Westminster*, that every one might bitterly bewaile his own sins, and cry mightily unto God for Christ his sake, to remove his wrath, and heale the Land.

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In their affliction they will seeke me early. Hos. 5. 15.
I said not unto the seede of Jacob, *Seeke yee me in vaine.* Is. 45. 19.
I said I would scatter them into corners, I would make the remembrance of them to cease from among men, were it not that I feared the wrath of the enemy. Deut. 32. 26, 27.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE HOVSE OF LORDS, AND THE HONORABLE HOVSE OF COMMONS Assembled in *PARLIAMENT.*

I *Never delighted in* Pulpit Apologies, *elſe I might have prefaced with an excuſe from the extreame ſhortneſſe of the warning to performe this* ſolemne ſervice. *Your* Chriſtian attention *in hearing, and* candide acceptance *of my meane endeavours, hath now likewiſe prevented my* Apologizing Epiſtle. *Let rather my* pen *ſecond my* tongue *in provoking you and my ſelfe to* bleſſe the Lord, *who invites poore ſinners to* ſeeke to him in the day of trouble. *Now (will blaſphemers ſay) they are* Pſal. 50. 15. *glad to runne to their prayers, we are indeed; deſiring humbly to rejoyce that we have ſuch* precious promiſes, *ſealed with the blond of ſuch a* Mediator, *in whoſe Name we may boldly*

seeke our heavenly Fathers face, *even when he hath a* rod, *a sword in his hand. we would shame our selves for our many sinnes, and justifie God who is glorious in holinesse, in all the judgements that lie upon us. If this be to be vile, we will with*
2 Sam. 6. 22. David *(when Gods hand cals for it)* be more vile then thus. *Let stupid* Atheists *take that portion,* Isa. 26. 11. Lord when thy hand is lifted up, they will not see, but they shall see and be ashamed for their envie toward thy people. *If God*
Psal. 65. 2. *stile himselfe a* God hearing prayers, *good reason we should runne unto him as a* people making prayers.

Let us now therefore approve our selves Christians indeed, *not multiply groundlesse* jealousies, *which are almost as troublesome in the* State *as unsound* opinions *in the* Church, *not* quarrell discontentedly *with the defects of* second causes, *but* meekly improve *the hand whereby the* first cause *disposes all events. Nothing comes to passe in* time, *but what was de-*
Luke 12. 6, 7. *creed from* Eternity. *If a few Sparrowes cannot fall to the ground, then surely* Armies, Cities, Countries, *cannot be lost without his* providence. *If he condescend to number his* childrens haires, *then certaincly much more their* heads. *He who hath a* bottle *for their* teares, *a* booke of remembrance *for their* words *and* thoughts upon his Name, *will not forget*
Mal. 3. 16. 18. *his owne* promises *unto them: but when discriminating times come, then* shall ye returne and discerne between the righteous and the wicked, betweene him that serveth God, and him that serveth him not.

There are now many veines opened in England, *it is in the body* Politick, *as in the* Naturall, *much* bad bloud *can-*
Isa. 23. 9. *not be let out, but we shall lose some* good. *The* Lord of Hoasts *hath* purposed to staine the pride of all our glory. *Much* honourable bloud *hath beene shed amongst us since these sad troubles began. When the judgement comes by* Famine or Pestilence, *ordinarily most* great *persons escape, the* vulgar *sort of people fall by such* Arrowes. God *hath now sent a sword,*

which

which hath done execution upon divers of our Nobles, *and many of our* Gentry. *The good Lord helpe you. and all whom it moſt concernes, to heare what* this rod, *this ſword* ſaith, *and* who hath appointed it. *We all acknowledge it was drawne for the ſinnes of this Nation; and will it be ſheathed againe without* repentance? Micah 6. 9.

It was a ſtrange propheſie of Robert Groſthead, *that great* Biſhop of Lincolne *in* H. 3. time, *who prying much into the abominations and* ſpirit of Popery, *ſaid a little before his death,* The Church ſhall not be delivered from the ſervitude of *Egypt,* but by violence and force, and with the bloudy ſword. *We have found this too true as well as other* Churches. *Is there not a generation amongſt us, who, rather then they will have* Chriſt raigne over them, *rather then* Doctrine, Worſhip, Government, *and* Diſcipline, *ſhould be reduced to the* ſimplicity that is in Chriſt, *will hazzard* King and Kingdomes, *involving one after another in bloudy troubles.*

Nec liberabitur Eccleſia ab Egyptiaca ſervitute niſi in ore gladii cruentandi, Matth. Pariſ. See Foxe Martyrolog.

Me thinkes we may heare groaning England *ſpeaking the language of the woman of* Tekoah, 2 Sam. 14. 4. Helpe O King, *and upon her ground;* her two ſonnes ſtrove together in the field, and there was none to part them, but the one ſmote the other and ſlew him, *v.* 6. *It will be your* High Honour *(O Noble Worthies) to be ſo faithfull to your* Saviour, *and to your* Soveraigne, *as to put hereunto your helping* Heads *and* Hearts, Counſels *and* Prayers. *When God ſuffered his Church to be brought very low,* to be a flocke of ſlaughter, *yet then* he took unto him two ſtaves, *the one he* called Beauty, *and* the other he called Bands, *and* he fed the flock. *Be pleaſed to improve your utmoſt now as good* followers of the Lambe. *Call for the helpe of the* Reverend Aſſembly, *who will ſtudy to adviſe you according to the* Teſtimony of Jeſus. Church-Reformation *may prove a compendious way to compoſe* State-commotions; *Hereby poore diſtracted* England *may yet finde two ſupporting* Staves, Beauty Zach. 11. 7.

and

and Bands, a Beautifull union established in Church and State.

The Lord delight to imploy you to these happy purposes; so shall our mourning be turned into Hallelujahs.

Your Honours to serve You

faithfully, for the honour

of the Lambe.

THOMAS HILL.

Errata.

PAge 18. line 11. for puls read purs, pag. 23. l. 5. and all maintaine r. and all to maintaine, pag. 23. l. 19. for Papists read pupils.

THE MILITANT CHVRCH, TRIUMPHANT OVER THE *DRAGON* AND HIS *ANGELS.*

REV. 12.11.

And they over-came him by the blood of the Lambe, and by the word of their teſtimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death.

THEY who ſtudy the *Providence* of *God*, about his people, will finde all his *diſpenſations* towards them full of *Wiſdome* and *Love*. If being provoked by their *ſinnes*, he let looſe *Oppreſſours* amongſt them, withall he provides *Saviours* for them; even when they feele

a *ſmarting rod*, they may ſee it in the *hand* of an *indulgent Father*; ſo ſweetely is he pleaſed to intermingle *refreſhings* with *troubles*, and to put ſome *Sugar* into their *biterreſt potions*. Thus kindly dealt he with his *Ancient People*, ſtirring up *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, whom he ſent *captives* with them, to be their *comforters* in that *darke captivity*: and thus tenderly dealt he with the *Chriſtian Churches*, when *John* and they were under *perſecution*, revealing ſuch rich *ſecrets* unto them by him, as might ſtrongly *ſupport them*, and all *ſuffering Saints*, under the moſt *bloody troubles* that ſhould ſucceed.

The revelation of Chriſt to *John* the Churches cordiall in the laſt age.

This is the very tenour of this *Propheticall Hiſtory*, and *Hiſtoricall Propheſie*, the *Revelation* of *Chriſt* to *John*: intending doubtleſſe by him to ſend unto the *conflicting Churches*, ſuch a ſtanding and *Soveraigne cordiall* as might cheere them, when they were at the *loweſt*, with hope of *triumphing* over their moſt potent *adverſaries*. And is it not pity, any Chriſtians ſhould have this cordiall with-held from them, for whom it was by God himſelfe provided? If Chriſt ſay, *Rev.* 1. 3. *Bleſſed is he that readeth, and they that heare the words of this Propheſie*; why ſhould any under pretence of difficulty, fondly imitate and exceed the ſuperſtition of the *Jewes*, *who permitted none to reade the beginning of Geneſis, Canticles, the beginning and end of Ezekiel, before thirty yeares of age*; but, *ours*, the Booke of the *Revelation* publickely ſcarſe at all? Admit it be true, that in this Booke, *Quot verba, tot ſacramenta, as many myſteries as words*; this may awaken *ſtudy*, and

Hieron. præfat. in Ezek.

and quicken *prayer*, but not take off our inquiry into these secrets intended for us. But though *Prophesies* may be *ænigmata, riddles* to others before they be fulfilled; wee have the advantage of many events and *accomplishments* to be our *Interpreters*. Yea, we have reason to hope, most of the *bitter passages* concerning the *Churches* of *Christ*, are already *fulfilled*; that there is much *Sugar* at the *bottome* reserved for these last ages, which may animate us to seeke (with all humble sobriety) a *revelation* of the *Revelation*.

And that which may embolden us to looke for more glorious *victories* hereafter, we finde in this 12. Chapter of the *Revelation*, even the *infant Primitive Church* becomming *triumphant*, when opposed by the fiercest of those *heathenish Emperours*.

In the six first Verses, Gods dealings with the old *Israelites*, and with the Primitive Christians seeme to run parallel. They for a time were in the *Egyptian* bondage under *Pharaoh*, who sought to devoure them. At last, *Gods mighty hand* brought them out into the *wildernesse*, where though unsetled for a while, yet he preserved and *fed* them graciously, and at the last brought them into *Canaan*.

Thus did the *Lord* dispense himselfe towards his *Church*, who is represented *v.* 1. as a *Woman clothed with the Sunne*. *Christs spouse* is made glorious by his *beames*, who is the *Sunne of Righteousnesse*. This Woman is *travailing* with *Christ* mysticall, under sharpe *throwes* and *pangs* of persecutions, for three hundred yeares together, *v.* 2. and all this while the *red Dragon*, like a bloody *Pharaoh*, *stood before the Woman which was ready to be delivered*, for *to devoure her childe as soone as it was borne*, *v.* 3. & 4. Yet she brought *forth a Man Childe*, *v.* 5. a *Masculine birth*, vigorous *Christians*; who in *Constantines* time were *caught up to God, and to his Throne*, were advanced to beare much sway.

Vxor eorum ut radiis maritis.

Mal. 4. 2.

Yet when the Church was set at liberty from the oppression of the *Heathen*, she fled into the *Wilderneſſe*, *v.6.* where she had a *place prepared of God*, that they *ſhould feed her there one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore dayes*, Propheticall dayes, (*i. e.*) ſo many yeares. It pleaſeth God to keepe us in the darke for the *punctuall beginning* of theſe dayes, as he did his people about the beginning of the *Babyloniſh captivity*. It was eaſily knowne it ſhould continue but 70. yeares, yet there being three ſteps of it, one in the dayes of *Jehoiakim*, a ſecond in the dayes of *Jechonias*, a third under *Zedekiah*, it was very hard, without ſpeciall direction, where to faſten that beginning, which ſhould terminate the 70. yeares. We may be confident the *Chriſtian Church* ſhall be in the Wilderneſſe but one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore yeares: and had we ſo much divine Wiſdome, as to know exactly where to beginne to reckon them, wee might ſpeake more than conjecturally of the time of the *Churches deliverance*.

God feeds his Church in the wilderneſſe, & will punctually according to his promiſe, lead them forth into Canaan.

In the five following verſes you have a more full amplification of this ſtory from ſeverall paſſages and circumſtances.

1. Firſt, The *Wars* betwixt *Michael* and the *Dragon*; *Chriſt* and the *Devill*; and their *Angels* on both ſides, *v.7.*

2. Secondly, The *iſſue*; The *Dragon* and his *Angels prevailed not*; *but was caſt out, and his Angels with him*, *v.8,9.* The *Devill* was caſt downe from that open rule, he had under *Heathen Emperours*.

3. Thirdly, *The Churches acknowledgement of her ſucceſſe*, *v.10.*

4. Fourthly, The *meanes* by which the *Devill* and his party were conquered, *v.11.*

1. *Principall*, by the blood of the Lambe.
2. *Organicall*, which is twofold.

First,

First, By the word of their Teſtimony;
Herein they were *ſincerely active.*
Secondly, They loved not their lives unto death;
Herein [redacted] were *reſolutely paſsive.*

Here you have firſt, not onely *Chriſt* himſelfe overcomming, but alſo his *Angels*: as he engages his people in the conflict, ſo he allowes them to ſhare in the honour of the victory, *They overcame.* Yet ſecondly, ſo as *Chriſt* is chiefely acknowledged: The Crown is firſt ſet upon the Captaines head, *their* overcomming was *by the blood of the Lambe.* Thirdly, Something his Souldiers contribute: though the *Devils Angels* may carry on their deſignes by *lyes, equivocations, reſervations* for a time; yet in concluſion, are conquered by the word of *their Teſtimony*, and that eſpecially when it is held forth, by a zealous ſelfe-deniall; *And they loved not their lives unto death.* 1. 2. 3. 4.

Theſe foure *Generals*, as they lie in the words, will afford us foure *naturall Obſervations*, flowing from them.

In the Warre betwixt Michael *and the Dragon, and their Angels, though the true Church be Militant for a time, yet it proves victorious and triumphant.* Object. 1.

In the field of the *Church* behold two potent *Armies*, under two *Generals, Michael* and the *Dragon. Michael, Quis ſicut Deus? Chriſt Jeſus* that great and powerfull *Captaine* of the Hoaſt of *God, Head* of the *Angels* and his *Church*: The *Dragon*, who hath many blacke names, ſutable unto his nature, *v.9.* A *great Dragon*, for his terrible fierceneſſe; an *old Serpent*, growne experimentally ſubtle; the *Devill*, being an accuſer of the *Brethren before God* day and night; *Satan*, an implacable adverſary to the *Saints*, a *Seducer*; it is his trade to be miſ-leading Soules.

Both *Generals* have their *party.* Chriſt hath his *Angels*, miniſtring *Spirits*, and *Chriſtian Princes, Magiſtrates, Confeſſours,*

fessours, with troopes of Saints. The Devill hath his *Angels*; unrighteous Magistrates, exasperated by *Heretiques* and corrupt *Teachers*, and strengthened by other wicked *instruments*. Betwixt these two parties there will be *irreconciliable warres*; for albeit the *personal sufferings* of Christ are ended, yet the *warfare* of his body, of his Subjects will continue. God hath *appointed them thereunto*, 1 *Thess*. 3. 3. And upon these termes, Christ proposeth glorious rewards in the closure of all the *Epistles* written to the *seven Churches*: τῷ νικῶντι δώσω, to him that is *over-comming* will I give, not to him who hath fully *overcome*; implying the Churches must be militant: but however though their *conflict* be troublesome, yet their *victory* will be glorious and *certaine*, *Rev*. 3. 21. To him that *overcomes will I grant to sit with me in my Throne, even as I also overcame, and am sate downe with my Father in his Throne*. The *Romish Babel*, the *Master-piece* of carnall policy, built and underpropped with all possible care; and is indeed the greatest *mountaine* raised against *Michael*, and his Kingdome; yet how triumphantly did the Angell speake concerning its ruine long agoe, *Rev*. 18. 2. *He cryed mightily with a strong voyce, saying, Babylon the great is falne, is falne?* the ingemination and present tense, inferre an undoubted certainety of its falling.

Αἰσθόνδος πόλεμος.

Col 1. 24.

See *Europæ Speculum*, p. 30 31, 32, 33. &c.

Reason 1. The Churches cause is a prevailing cause.

The *cause* of the true *Church* is a *prevailing cause*, and therefore doubtlesse the Church will be *triumphant*. What is the Churches cause, but the advancement of the *Kingdome* of Christ, which was the great designe of the three glorious Persons in *Trinity* from eternity, wherein they will not suffer themselves to be disappointed! Upon this divine *Project*, the *Attributes* of *God*, the *Offices* of *Christ*, the *Influences* of the *holy Spirit*, lay out themselves. All other things stand or fall with *subserviency* hereunto. In reference to this the Lord appointed *Watchmen*, that might give

give him no reſt, till *Jeruſalem was made a praiſe in the earth Iſa.* 62.6,7. This is clearely revealed twice in the Booke of *Daniel*; firſt to *Nebuchadnezzar*, in a glorious image of foure *metals*, *Dan.*2. ſignifying the foure great *Monarchies* ſucceeding one another; who alſo ſaw a ſtone cut *out without* hands, *v.* 34. which ſmote the image, and *became a great Mountaine*, and filled the *whole* earth, *v.*35. This *Regnum lapidis* became *Regnum montis*, which alone *ſhall never be deſtroyed*, *v.* 44. And to *Daniel* himſelfe in a viſion of foure diverſe beaſts, importing likewiſe the ſucceſſion of foure Kingdomes, all ſwallowed up in the *everlaſting dominion* of Chriſt, *Dan.*7. 13,14.

Reaſ. 2. The Church hath an Almighty friend engaged for it.

The name of the Almighty *Jehovah*, is ſo much intereſted in the cauſe of the true Church, that he will carry it on in a triumphing way. Having given himſelfe to his Church in *Covenant*, *Jer.* 31.33. I will be their *God*, and they ſhall be my *People*; what *God* is, and what *God* can doe, ſtands engaged for their good. *Feare not, for thy Maker is thy Huſband, the Lord of Hoſts is his Name.* He is pleaſed to make himſelfe his Churches debter, by his promiſe, *Iſa.* 60. 15. Whereas thou haſt been forſaken and hated, I will *make thee an eternall excellency, the joy of many generations*. Poſſibly the wiſeſt *Parliament*, and moſt potent Army may be reduced unto a non-plus, and cannot viſibly carry on the cauſe and Kingdome of Chriſt, yet the worke will not miſcarry; The zeale of the Lord of Hoaſts will performe this, *Iſa.* 9. 7. *Iſa* 54.4,5.

Reaſ. 3. The Churches adverſaries not invincible.

The true Churches *Adverſaries* are the worſt of *Angels* and *men*; and ſo the more obnoxious to deſtruction. The worſe men, the better adverſaries to fight againſt, *Job* 27.7 *Let my enemy be as the wicked, and he that riſeth up againſt me, as the unrighteous.* The more by their wickedneſſe they fight againſt *God*, the more they provoke him to fight againſt *them*; and admit the Church hath a great party againſt

gainst her, if they be the *sinning* side, they are the *sinking* side, 1 *Sam.* 12.25. The Church was the more victorious against *Babylon*, because *Babylon* was so sinfull against *God*, *Rev.* 14.8. *Babylon is falne, is falne, that great City, because she made all Nations drinke of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.*

1 Vse of Instruction.

Shall the *Militant Church* be *Triumphant* over the *Dragon* and his *Angels*? Then Christs Souldiers have no reason to repent, who have given up their *Names* unto *him*, and taken *presse money* from *him*: His side will be the prevailing side; and who doth not adore the rising Sunne? His people may suffer, but when the Lord hath performed his *worke upon Mount Zion*, and *on Jerusalem*, I will punish *the fruit of the stout heart of the King of Assyria*, and *the glory of his high lookes*, Isa. 10. 12. When God hath wrought for his people the good which he intended, he is wont to cast the rod into the fire. He knowes how to make his people *more then Conquerours*, even when they are conquered by their enemies, *Rom.* 8. 37. The Lord hath a Soveraignty as well in the lusts and passions of his adversaries, as in the graces of his people, *Psal.* 76. 10. *Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee*, the *remainder thereof shalt thou restraine.* By his providence the enemies plots doe prove the Churches advantages. The most glorious deliverance and reformation have beene the happy event of most wretched designes. As there was a blessed transaction in Heaven betweene the Father and the Sonne for the salvation of the Elect, *Joh.* 6.39. so is it expressely concluded betwixt them for the confusion of the Churches enemies, *Psal.* 110 1. *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, untill I make thine enemies thy foote-stoole.* Christ is not alone in these Warres: the *Father* is with him, engaging himselfe against the enemies of his *Sonne*: and will make the *highest* of them much lower then the

Τοῦτον κᾶμεν, *supervincimus, egregie vincimus.* Piscat.

Quod hostis machinatur in perniciem, convertit Deus in adjutorium Aug.

This apparent in the successe of Scottish troubles.

the *meaneſt* of his faithfull Souldiers.

Beware then of deſerting *Chriſt* and his *Church* by dull *neutrality* or wilfull *apoſtacy*: you cannot be guilty of either againſt him, without betraying your ſelves. He accounts neuters his enemies, *Matth.* 12. 30. He *that is not with* me *is againſt me*: they are curſed bitterly *who come* not out to *helpe the Lord againſt the mighty*. Our policy cannot protect us, if we deſert the cauſe of *God* and his *people*, our ſins *will finde us out*, as *Moſes* told the *Reubenites* and the *Gadites* upon the like occaſion, *Numb.* 32. 20, 21, 22, 23. And as for *Apoſtates* from him and his cauſe, they are no leſſe odious unto him: witneſſe *Heb.* 10. 38, 39. If any *man draw backe, my ſoule ſhall have no pleaſure in him.* It is our deare *Saviours* employment in Heaven, as to *appeare in the preſence of God* for his friends, *Heb.* 9. 24. ſo to ſit downe at the *right-hand of God, from hence-forth expecting till* his enemies *be made his footeſtoole, Heb.* 10. 12, 13. He hath now no ſacrifice to offer: he is there above ſuffering, being entred into the fellowſhip and fruition of the *glory* of his *Godhead*, to exerciſe his power and authority for the good of his *Church*, and overthrow of his *enemies*. He ſees their *day* is *comming*, *Pſal.* 37. 13. when he ſhall have *contentment* and comfort in his enemies ruine, triumphantly trampling upon them who ſhall everlaſtingly inherit the ſhame of their owne ſinnes, and lie under the preſſure of his juſt diſpleaſure.

Uſe. 2. Of Caution: Judg. 5. 23. Ezek. 5. 13.

Be encouraged in theſe *ſhedding* and *diſcriminating times*, to take part with the *true Church*, and to adhere firmly to *Jeſus Chriſt* and his *Angels*. Looke about you, as in *Joſhuah* 5. 13. may you not ſee *Jeſus Chriſt* comming down from Heaven, with his *ſword drawn in his hand?* Go to him with *Joſhua's queſtion, Art thou for us, or for our adverſaries?* Will not his anſwer be, Nay, but *as a Captaine of the Hoaſt of the Lord am I now come?* Then you muſt be ſure

Uſe. 3. Of exhortation

to be of the Lords hoaſt, or elſe he is not for you, but for your adverſaries.

The fight of faith a good fight.

Take therefore *Pauls* ſeaſonable counſell, 1 *Tim.* 6. 12. *fight the good fight of faith.* Such have the *beſt cauſe*; It is *Gods*. Such fight the *Lords* battels, 1 *Sam.* 25. 28. The *beſt*
1. *Captaine*, Jeſus Chriſt the *Captaine of their ſalvation*, *Heb.*
2. 2. 10. The *beſt fellow-ſouldiers*, *Stephen*, *Paul*, and the reſt
3. of that holy band; with certainty of victory, 2 *Tim.* 4. 8.
4. *Henceforth there is laied up for me a crowne of righteouſneſſe, which the Lord the righteous Judge*, ſhall give me at that day: and *not to me onely, but to them alſo that love his appearing.* This is more then the greateſt *Champions* of the world can promiſe themſelves.

Queſt. But may not Chriſts ſouldiers be foiled?

1. Yes: ſo were the *Iſraelites*, when they fought againſt *Benjamin*, *Judg.* 20. yet was the cauſe holy and good. But what with their *over-confidence* in the goodneſſe of their *cauſe*, and *greatneſſe* of *their numbers*, and want of *humiliation before God*, they were twice diſcomfited. Againe, conſider the *Cauſe* may *prevaile*, when the *perſons miſcarry*;
2. and grow great out of the ruines of ſuch as ſuffered for it.

Comfort, if the witneſſes are not yet ſlaine.

Suppoſe that diſcouraging queſtion, Whether the witneſſes be already ſlaine, cannot ſo comfortably be anſwered, by a peremptory affirmative: Yet, however; better be one of the *witneſſes*, though *dying*; then one of the killers of them, *though triumphing*. There will be a ſpeedy *reſurrection* of them and the cauſe, *Revel.* 11. 11. But remember to allow the *Lord* his *Prerogative*, to carry on his Churches cauſe in his owne *method*, and in his owne *time*. See *Deut.* 32. 35, 36. His enemies feete ſhall ſlide in due time though his peoples power be gone.

By the bloud of the Lamb.

2. *Obſerv.* *The Militant Churches victories over the Devill and his Angels, are obtained by the bloud of the Lambe Jeſus Chriſt.*

This

This is clearely held forth in that *mother fundamentall promiſe* which was moſt graciouſly intimated to fallen *Adam*, even before the ſentence paſſed upon him, *Gen.* 3. 15. The Womans ſeed ſhall breake the Serpents head. Of this *Daniel* had comfortable experience when *Michael helped him*, *Dan.* 10.13.21. which is further confirmed, *Rev.* 17. 14. *Theſe ſhall make warre with the Lamb, and the Lamb ſhall overcome them, for he is Lord of Lords, and King of Kings.*

Reaſons why victories are attributed to the bloud of the Lambe.

First, by the *bloud* of the *Lamb* divine juſtice is ſatisfied, *God* appeaſed, *Rom.* 3.25. and the Church reconciled to him, 2 *Cor.* 5. 19. *Her ſinnes* being done away which betray her to her enemies, ſhe becomes victorious, ſharing in the triumph of *Chriſt* over the *Devill* and his *Angels*, *Col.* 2.12,13. 1. *Reaſ.* Rev. 1.5.

Secondly, by the *bloud* of the *Lamb* we obtaine that grace, which enables us prevailingly to reſiſt the *Devil* and his *Angels*. For no peeces of the *ſpirituall armour* will be *armour of proofe*, unleſſe they be *dipped* in the *bloud* of *Chriſt*, *Rev.* 7. 14. And how was *Paul* enabled to doe *all things*, but by the might of *Chriſt that ſtrengthned him? Phil.* 4. 13. *Whoſe bloud hath an eternall efficacie*, Rev. 13.8. 2 *Reaſ.*

The Churches victories are therefore aſcribed to the *bloud of the Lamb*, becauſe the *Oeconomicall Kingdome* which *Chriſt* hath over his *Church* is a *Prieſtly Kingdome*, which he poſſeſſes as the fruit of his *bloudy ſufferings*. For though he were prepared and made capable of his Kingly glory by the *hypoſtaticall union*, yet the holy *Scriptures* inveſt him with it, as the reward of his *ſufferings* and *humiliation*. He humbled *himſelfe, and became obedient unto death, even* the death *of the croſſe*; *Wherefore* God alſo hath highly exalted *him, and given him a Name which is above every name*, That, *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ, in the Name of* Jeſus, (not, at the Name Jeſus) *every knee ſhould bow*. And his Church likewiſe being a *royall Prieſthood*, 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. 3. *Reaſ.* Pſal. 110.1.

conquers through the bloud of her King.

Use 1. Of humiliation

If the Churches victories are obtained by the bloud of the Lamb; Then, why should not we debase our selves this day before God, for all our vaine *confiding* in creatures, or *magnifying* them upon any good *successes*? Hereby we proudly encroach upon the honour of *Christ*, to whose *bloud* we owe all our *Victories*. *It is fit wee should humble our selves, when God hath humbled us*, Eccles. 7. 14. *In the day of adversity consider*. We must blesse *God* for good *Instruments*, but may not admire them to the disparagement of the *principall cause*.

Habb. 1. 16.

Though ignorant wretches did *sacrifice unto their* owne net, *and burne Incense to their dragge*; this is most unworthy of Christians, who should live by faith in Christ, *Gal.* 2. 20. not onely *pray* in faith, but *worke*, *fight* by faith, expecting all *from Christ*, and resolving all *into Christ*.

Christ should be all in all in our victories.

Improve the *hand* of *God*, (which occasioned this extraordinary Assembly) for the *Prophet Haggai* his purpose, To *consider your wayes*; or, (as in the Heb.) *Set your heart upon your wayes, Hag.* 1. 5. 7. Too many like *Hannibal*, who though victorious, knew not how *uti victoriâ*, and so lose themselves in their victories, not acknowledging the *bloud of the Lamb* therein. The *Lord* make us more wise for time to come. We may *use* meanes, but must not *rest* upon them; we ought to *blesse God* for *second causes*, but must not *idolize them*. It was a modest strain in *Joab*, which might make us blush, he sent to *David*, that he would gather the people together, encamp against the City and take it; *lest I take the City* (said he) *and it be called by my name*. Let such as are *instrumentall* for the *publike* have all due acknowledgment, but it may cost us yet much dearer, if we *baptize* any with the name of *Conqueror*, but onely *Jesus*, *Isa.* 9. 6. *The government is upon his shoulder*, his *Name shall be called Wonderfull*. Him we may admire to eternity.

2 Sam. 12. 27. 28.

Oh

Oh then take heed of abusing the *precious blood* of this *Lambe* by your sinnes, lest he prove to you a devouring *Lion*. This Lambe hath wrath when he is provoked, and *who shall be able to stand in the day of his wrathe Rev.* 6. 17. Especially beware of sinning directly against the blood of Christ. Thats a dreadfull thunderbolt against many Professours, when they count the *blood of the Covenant*, wherewith they were *sanctified*, *an unholy thing*, *Heb.* 10. 29. Though they have not internall *sanctification*, by *renevation* of *nature*, and *inhabitation* of the *Spirit of grace*, yet they have an externall *sanctification*, by *consecration* and dedication to Gods Service, by calling and covenant, common to every member of a visible Church, and this by the *blood of Christ*: but when by their backesliding they shall disavow Christ and his Gospell, they doe *interpretative*, in effect say his blood hath no value in it, is no better than the blood of a common malefactour, and so make themselves obnoxious to the *soreſt punishments*.

Use. 2. Of caution.

Backsliding professours abuse the blood of Christ. See *Dav. Dick. Comment.* on this place.

But there is another sinne against the blood of Christ, very dangerous, and more *epidemicall*, by profaning his holy Sacrament, the *memoriall of his blood*, 1 *Cor.* 11. 27, 28. The Lord knowes how deepely guilty many here present are, having their hearts and hands imbrued in the blood of their *Saviour*. *Rivers of teares of blood, are too little to bewaile this one provocation.* There is now a most bloody sword drawne in *England*; does not the Lord bring it upon us, as to avenge the *quarrell of the Covenant? Lev.* 26. 25. So the *blood of the Covenant*, *Heb.* 10. 25. Doubtlesse as God will make *inquisition* for the *blood of his Saints*, so for the *blood of his Sonne*, and if now he should search *England*, as once *Jerusalem* with candles, *Zeph.* 1. 12. would not many of our *Nobility* and *Gentry*, *Magistrates* and *Ministers*, as well as *common people*, be found guilty of the blood of Christ? *Chrysostome* was very sen-

Vnworthy Communicants abuse the blood of Christ.

Psal. 9. 12.

sible of this evill: whereupon he professed, *I will rather give my life than the blood of Christ to any unworthy one; and I will rather suffer my owne blood to be shed, than give that most holy blood to any but him that is worthy.* Chrysostom in Mat. Hom. 64. *Ambrose* expressed the same zeale against this sin in *Theodosius*. *Wilt thou* (saith he to the *Emperour*) *reach these hands dropping with the blood of Innocents, to receive the most sacred body of the Lord? wilt thou put that precious blood of his to thy mouth, which in a rage spilt so much Christian blood?* depart rather and heape not one sinne to another. Theod. l. 5. c. 17. But alas! how great is our *Ministers* misery? we lye under a kinde of necessity of suffering this evill among our people. Our straights are most uncomfortable.

The Ministers sad straights, about the Lords Supper.

1. First, *The Lawes and constitutions of* England, *require the body of* England *to come to this Sacrament after sixteen yeares of age; That they may prove themselves no Papists, they must communicate.*

2. Secondly, *The Scripture denounceth judgment against them if they eate and drinke unworthily*, 1 *Cor.* 11. 29.

3. Thirdly, Yet *Pastours and Churches want that power of the Keyes, whereby they might doe their duty therein.*

All you who love and follow the Lambe, helpe *England* by your Prayers, that all old leaven may be purged out, 1 *Cor.* 5. 7. Ye *Members of the Assembly* contribute your *Counsell* with *Jehojada*, 2 *Chron.* 23. 19. that *such Porters* (such Church Discipline) *may be set at the Gates*, that the uncleane enter not in. And improve your power, ye *Parliament Worthies*, for setting up such spirituall railes in our Churches, such a due order, that *Scripture dogges* be not suffered, to the hazzarding of their owne soules, and the dishonour of their Saviour, to rush upon these holy things.

3 Use of Exhortation. The third Use is, of Exhortation, in two Branches.

1 Branch. First, If all the Churches victories be obtained by the blood

blood of the Lambe, then as you desire to prevaile, *make peace* with Christ. How can we in *England* expect Hee should fight for us, if we fight against him? It is wise counsell, *Psal.* 2. 11. for Kings, for Judges, for all, *Kisse the Sonne lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little:* not with a *treacherous kisse as Judas*, but with a *kisse of loving loyalty of humble subjection, of peaceable reconciliation.* That Question is frequent among us, which *Joram* proposed to *Jehu*, 2 *Kings* 9. 22. *Is it peace?* may not we returne the same answer, *What peace so long as whoredomes remaine*, and many other abominations? *Jehojada* tooke a right method to peace and quietnesse, 2 *King.* 11. 17. 18. 20. And *Jehojada made a Covenant betweene the Lord* and the King, *and the people, that they should be the Lords people: betweene the King also and the people. And all the people of the Land went into the house of Baal, and brake it downe, his Altars and his Images brake they in pieces thorowly, and slew* Mattan *the Priest of* Baal, *before the Altars; And the Priest appointed Officers over the House of the Lord.* This very place was not long since the *valley of Berachah*, 2 *Chron.* 20. 26. here solemne praises for the discovery of most destructive plots. It may now be called a *Bochim*, as *Judg.* 2. 5. (oh that there were more teares among us!) we should all appeare before God this day as mourners in sense of his displeasure. If wee would have it a day of *atonement*; as *Levit.* 23. 28. a peace-making day both betweene *King and People, and betweene Christ and England*, let it be a *thorow-reforming day*, as *v.* 18. They brake all *Baals* altars and images in pieces thorowly. Let every one say, What have I to doe any more with my Idols? Let it be a day of serious protestation against our sins, and renouncing all those weapons, whereby we have fought against Jesus Christ, then may all the people hope to rejoyce in quietnesse, *v.* 20.

The Scripture Method of *Englands* peace

Then

2 Branch. Then if you desire to be victorious, *appeale* from second causes unto Jesus Christ, and the merit of his blood. In all our straights, let us speake *Jehoshaphats* language, 2 *Chron.* 20. 12. *We know not what to doe, but our eyes are upon thee.* It is the observation of a Politician, *England is a mighty animall, which can never dye except it kill it selfe.* Among our other crying sinnes we are now involving our selves in the guilt of *Selfe-murther*. Here is an unnaturall sword most unhappily drawne amongst us, as *Isai.* 9. 19, 20, 21. *Through the wrath of the Lord of Hosts is the Land darkned, and the people shall be as the fuell of the fire, no man shall spare his brother. He shall snatch on the right hand and be hungry, and he shall eate on the left hand and not be satisfied, they shall eate every man the flesh of his owne arme.* Manasseh Ephraim, *and* Ephraim Manasseh, *and both against* Judah. *For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still.*

Intrest of Princes, p. 55.

Is not this *Englands* condition

Fighting or *treating* can not yet end the controversie, we have importuned the sword to be quiet, as *Jer.* 47. 6. *O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thy selfe into thy scabbard, rest, and be still:* and as yet *England* hath received the same answer with *Ashkelon*, v. 7. *How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Ashkelon, and against the Sea shore? There hath he appointed it.* The Lord hath given it Commission to ride circuite in *severall Counties of England*; and who knowes how long? what now remaines? we reade *Mark.* 5. 25. of a certaine Woman which had an issue of blood twelve yeares, and v. 26. had suffered many things of *many Physitians*, and had spent all that she had, and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse: could never be healed, till she touched Christ. We are this day in a solemne manner drawing nigh unto Christ. *O that our bloody issue might drive us to improve the blood of the Lambe!* Could we fiducially put our selves, our Church and State, our Religi-

Our best Remedy.

on

on and Liberty, into the hands of our Saviour, who knows but we might have as comfortable an answer, as this woman had, *v.* 34. Thy faith hath made thee whole, goe in peace and be whole of thy plague. The good Lord vouchsafe an *Amen.*

They overcame by the word of their Testimony.

Christs Souldiers carry on the Churches victories, against the Devill and his Angels, by the word of their Testimony, by the Gospel of Christ. *Observ.* 3.

If you desire to know what is *This word of their Testimony*, it will appeare *v.* 17. Christs Souldiers are described to be such as *kept the Commandements of God, and have the Testimony of Jesus*; and *Rev.* 1. 9. *John* was banished for *the Word of God, and for the Testimony of Jesus Christ*, which doubtlesse was the Gospell; And this, not as written in your Bibles onely, and comprized in your Bookes. *Evangelium non utique scriptum aut pictum in Tabulis. Para.*

But having this Gospell of Christ rooted in your hearts by *Faith*, holding fast the profession thereof without wavering, *Heb.* 10. 23. Resist the Devill, being *stedfast in the Faith*, 1 *Pet.* 5. 9. whereas *Heb.* 4. 2. *The Word Preached did not profit them, not being mixed with Faith in them that heard it.* The Gospell will not joyne with corrupt opinions, but with Faith: it will be received not as a conjecture or possible truth, but for a Divine or infallible truth, then it profiteth and strengtheneth. 1. In Heart.

Bearing witnesse to the Gospell of Christ, who is the *Amen*, the faithfull and true witnesse, *Rev.* 3. 14. *Openly with your mouthes*, *Rom.* 10. 10. by *Preaching*, if Ministers; So *Paul*, *Rom.* 1. 16. He was *not ashamed* of the Gospell of Christ; and by confession, which concernes all Christians when called to it for the glory of God, and edification of the Brethren, 1 *Pet.* 3. 15. *Be ready to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you.* 2. In Mouth.

you. Be ready εἰς ἀπολογίαν, be ready to make an Apology for thy Religion.

3. In doing. Justifying the Gospell in *life* and *conversation.* All wisedomes children should be so ingenuous and mannerly as to *justifie Wisdome*, *Mat.* 11. 19. This will be a prevailing Testimony when you walke worthy of the Gospell of Christ. Expresse the Gospell-graces in an active Gospell-conversation.

4. In suffering. Commending the Gospel by your *patient* and *cheerefull suffering for it.* It is a great confirmation of the truth, and puls honour upon it, when Christians will rather suffer for the Gospell, than the Gospell should suffer by them. Our losses in this case will be the Gospels advantage, *Phil.* 1. 12, 13, 14. All things which happened unto *Paul, were for the furtherance of the Gospell; by his bonds others waxed confident.*

Such a good Souldier was *Timothy*, who, 1 *Tim.* 6. 12. witnessed a good *confession before many Witnesses*; having learned this prevailing method from his Captaine Jesus Christ, who, *v.* 13. before *Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession.*

It clearely appeares how the Churches victories are carryed on by the Testimony of the Gospell.

Reas. 1. The strength of the *Gospels* adversaries lies not in the *goodnesse* of their *cause*; but in the *ignorance* of peoples *minds* and meere *mistakes* thence arising: What is *Paganisme*, *Mahumetanisme*, *Popery*; but a Rapsody and heape of grosse mistakes raised in the darke? The Devill uses the same method ordinarily to carry on his designes that he tooke in the *Councell of Ariminum. The Arrians having procured the exile of the most worthy and learned Bishops, and perceiving the company that was left, though they were very unlearned, yet would not be perswaded directly to disanull any thing which had beene concluded before in the Councell of* Nice, did

1 Tim. 4. 1, 2.

Ruffin. Eccl. Hist. l. 10.

did abuse their ignorance in proposing the matter: for they demanded of them whether they would worship ὁμοούσιον *or Christ? these not understanding the Greeke word, rejected it with execration*, being as they thought opposed unto Christ. Thus have the *Prelaticall party* surprised many ignorant Congregations with their innovations, and easily misled them while they kept them in the darke. But when the Sunne of righteousnesse arises, when God sends abroad *John Baptists as burning and shining lights, John* 5. 35. they by the beames of truth will discover the most subtile errors, and by the spirituall weapons of their warfare *cast downe the strong holds* of the Devill and his Angels. 2 Cor. 10. 4, 5.

Where the Testimony of the Gospel of Christ is held forth, there is so much of God as convinces and conquers, 1 *Cor.* 14. 15. His owne power is there displayed, *Rom.* 1. 16. *the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation.* There is the mighty *presence* of *Christ*, whose *Arrowes are sharpe* in the *hearts of his enemies, wherby the people fall under him, Psal.* 45. 5. There the *Spirit of God* breaths so powerfully, that by the Word alone, which is the *sword of the Spirit, Ephes.* 6. 17. the *Apostles*, though but a few meane men, were much more victorious then the greatest *Alexander* or potent *Cæsars*, conquering by the word of *their Testimony* so many opposite *Kingdomes*, subduing so many *thousand spirits* and *consciences*, and that in so *short* a *time*, without *shedding* one drop of *bloud*. *Reas.* 2.

Indeed when we are to deale with *Papists* and sonnes of violence, which illegally invade our persons, Religion, Liberty, and endeavour to take away our birthright from us, the very Law of nature teacheth us to defend our selves against such injustice; But for the overcomming of *Popery*, we need not other weapons to consume it, but the *spirit of Christs mouth*, 2 *Thes.* 2. 8. It is the word of *their Testimony*, by which *Christs* souldiers prevaile against the *Devill* and his *Angels*.

Use 1. Information.

If Chrifts ſouldiers carry on the Churches victories by the Teſtimony of the Goſpel; Then whoſe *champions* are they, who in ſtead of bearing witneſſe unto, employ their power and policy to ſuppreſſe the Teſtimony of Jeſus? Doubtleſſe none but the *Dragons regiment* will fight againſt *Chriſt* and his *Goſpel*. *Elymas* the Sorcerer is wont to withſtand *Saul and Barnabas*, ſeeking *to turne away the Deputy from the faith*. *Men of corrupt* minds, of *no judgement concerning the faith*, reſiſt the Truth *as* Jannes *and* Jambres *did* Moſes; But *Paul* will keepe backe nothing that is profitable for their ſoules, *teaching them publikely, and from houſe to houſe*, *Acts* 20. 20. And alſo charge *Timothy* that he *preach the Word, be inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 2. *Doe the worke of an Evangeliſt, fulfill thy miniſtery*. Oh how unlike to *Paul* and *Timothy*, are many of the *Prelatical Tribe*, whom yet they pretend to *ſucceed*! What ſucceſſors of *Paul* and *Timothy*, by *preaching* againſt *preachings*, and uſing their power to undermine the Teſtimony of the Goſpel! No rather they unhappily tread in *Jeſuiticall ſteps* complying with *Contzens rules*, whether occaſionally or intentionally *they beſt know*, for the overthrowing of the power of the *Goſpel*; His very *engines* have they uſed to *pillage* our *Churches* of *afternoone Sermons*, of weekely *Lectures*, and to turne praying into *bidding* of *prayer*, *&c.* and according to his ſubtile counſell, were extorting ſuch an approbation of the Prelacy amongſt us as would ſoone have plundered *England* of many of her faithful *Miniſters*, or at leaſt their conſciences of their *ſweete peace*, if not of their *liberties*. And are too like thoſe ſoule-murdering *Jewes*, 1 *Theſ.* 2. 16. enemies to Chriſt and to the ſalvation of others, *forbidding the Apoſtles to ſpeake to the Gentiles that they might be ſaved*. No wonder they lie under ſo much contempt. God makes good his owne word by *Malachi, chap.* 2. 9. *Therefore have I alſo made you contemptible and baſe before all the people, according*

Acts 13. 8.

2 *Tim.* 3. 8.

See *Adam Contzens politick. l.* 2 *c.* 18. Who might not eaſily reduce the Puritanes in *England* into order if he could extort from them the approbation of the Bishops, ſaith the Jeſuite?

Compare this with our late Convocation Oath, for the eſtabliſhing Epiſcopacy.

according as yee have not kept my wayes, but have beene partiall in my Law. They who ſmother the Teſtimony of Chriſt, *taking away the key of knowledge*, do the moſt diſhonourable work, & muſt expect anſwerable wages here and hereafter, *Mat.*23.13. *Luke* 11.52. Do the Souldiers of Chriſt carry on the Churches victories by holding forth the *Word* of their *Teſtimony?* Then if we prevail not againſt the *Devil* and his *Angels* in theſe *Goſpel conflicts*, we may blame our *ſelves* and our own *remiſſenes*, as not being *valiant for the truth*, which was their defect, *Jer.*9.3. We are too ready to tranſlate the fault to others, (an old prank our firſt Parents taught us as ſoon as they had fallen.) *Parliament* complains of the *army*; *Army* of the *Parliament*, *City* againſt *both*, and *Countrey* will ſpare none of *them*. Thus moſt unhappily (by the ſecret policy of Malignants) jealouſies are fomented, and multiplyed to the prejudice of all; our hearts and hands thereby weakned in the Churches cauſe. It were more like Chriſtians upon a day of mourning, to be bewailing our owne coldneſſe and want of appearing as active ſouldiers, under ſo good a Captaine.

Uſe. 2. For ſelfe-judging.

God forbid it ſhould be verified of us, what the Lord ſaid, *Jer.* 8.6. *I harkned and heard, but they ſpake not aright: no man repented him of his wickedneſſe*, ſaying, *What have I done?* Oh that you would call your ſelves to a particular account (it is *opus diei*, a worke ſutable to the day) ſaying, How much evill have I done to enflame theſe warres; and how little good have I done to extinguiſh them? Might not ſome *Nehemiah* contend with many of our *Nobles*, and ſay, What evill thing is this that you doe, and profane the Sabbath day? But is this all? though too much? Might not ſome *Peter* contend with many of our *Gentry*, who *walk in laſciviouſneſſe, luſts, exceſſe of wine, revellings, banquettings, and abominable idolatries*, thinking it ſtrange that others *runne not with them* to the *ſame exceſſe* of riot? And might not ſome *Jeremiah* complaine, *A wonderfull and horrible*

Neh.13.17.

1 Pet.4.3,4.

thing is committed in the Land, the Prophets propheſie falſely,
Jer 5 30, 31. *and the Prieſts beare rule by their meanes, and my people love to have it ſo: and what will yee doe in the end thereof?*

Many bleſſe God heartily for that *Religious Ordinance of Parliament* ſet forth ſome months ſince, *to ſtirre up* England *to repentance for nationall and perſonall ſinnes.* Did
In Febr. 1642. you more *exemplarily commend* it to us by your owne practice it would have a more *commanding influence* upon us. What though we talke againſt *Atheiſts*, if we ſtill wallow in *prophaneneſſe*, cry out againſt *Papiſts*, and ſtill continue *lukewarme Proteſtants*, inveigh againſt *Malignants*, and yet remain ful of *Malignant Antipathy* againſt Scripture Reformation; This is not to hold forth the *Teſtimony* of the *Goſpel* as becomes a good ſouldier of Chriſt. The Lord lead us all into our owne hearts, and teach ſo to judge our ſelves that we be not judged.

3 Uſe of Exhortation for Parliament Worthies.

Doe the ſouldiers of *Chriſt* carry on the *Churches* victories by the *Teſtimony* of the *Goſpel?* As ever you deſire they ſhould prevaile in ſo good a cauſe, it concernes *you* who are the grand Counſellors, betruſted with ſo much *ſuperintendency* for the *liberty* as well of our *Religion*, as of our *perſons* and *eſtates*, that you emprove it faithfully for the advancing and propagating the *Goſpel* of *Chriſt*, ſo will you be fitted to give a more comfortable account of your great Stewardſhip, when your Maſter cals for it, *Luke* 16.2.

Here 4. hints for Parliament men in reference to the Goſpels advancement.

Be pleaſed (*worthy Senatours*) to accept theſe few *hints* for this purpoſe.

1. *Patroniz̃e, protect, reward, preferre* faithfull witneſſes of *Chriſt.* If a *Prophet* come with a word of *reproofe*, though *ſharpe*, if *ſeaſonable*; doe not therefore count him your enemy, as *Ahad* did *Elijah*, 1 *King.* 21. 20. becauſe he dealt plainly with him: nor ſend him away as *Amaziah* did the *Prophet*, when he came to diſcover his ſinnes, *Art*

thou

thou made of the Kings Counſell? forbeare, 2 *Chron.* 25. 16.

Check, reſtraine, diſable, Diotrephes, Demetrius, and that fraternity, who undermine not onely *Parliament Ordinances,* but even the *Ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt,* making no ſmall ſtir in *England* about the way of *Reformation,* and all maintaine their owne *Diana,* as *Act.* 19. 23, 24. *&c.* 2.

Have *a vigilant* eye upon ſuch *intemperate Preachers* and *Writers* as pervert *truth* and diſturbe *peace. Papiſts* would take away the *Cup,* and leave us but *halfe* a *Sacrament*; *Antinomians* would aboliſh the morall *Law,* and leave us but *halfe* a *Bible.* If ſuch be ſuffered, our *Religion* will grow *lame* and *licentious.* 3.

Forget not, I beſeech you, forget not the *purging* and *pruning* of the *Univerſities, the Nurſeries of piety and learning.* If *Satan* have a *ſeate* there; if there be ſuch that hold the doctine of *Balaam,* who taught *Balak to caſt a ſtumbling block before the children of Iſrael, to eate things ſacrificed to Idols, and to commit fornication,* what Papiſts ſuch *Tutors* are like to ſend abroad, we have found by too much unhappy experience. 4.

And they loved not their lives unto death.

Chriſts ſouldiers firſt pleaded the *Churches* cauſe by the word of *their Teſtimony,* and by ſuch *Goſpel* weapons they promoted the victory: Then, this Teſtimony of *Jeſus* repreſenting unto their owne ſpirits, as well as unto others, the *infinite excellency* of the *Lambe,* raiſed their hearts to ſuch a pitch of love to *Him* and to his cauſe, that they loved not their lives unto the death, and ſo grew more *compleatly victorious* over the *Dragon* and his *Angells.*

Καὶ οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἄχρι θανάτου

They overcame, as by the ſtrength of *their Teſtimony,* ſo by the conſtancy of their reſolution to hazzard their lives for *Chriſt* and his *Goſpel.*

In

Observ. 4. *In the Churches conflicts they prove victorious ſouldiers, who love not their lives ſo dearely, as they love Chriſt and his cauſe.*

Two things being cleared we may the better improve this obſervation in the application of it to our ſelves.

1. *The degrees of this love to Chriſt and his cauſe, by which they overcame.*

2. *The influence ſuch love hath into the Churches victories.*

1 The degrees of love to Chriſt.

1 Loving Chriſt ſo as, to hate their beſt beloved ſins.

Firſt, Victorious ſouldiers in the Churches conflicts, muſt love Chriſt better then their *beſt beloved ſinnes*, *Pſal.* 97. 10. *Yee that love the Lord, hate evill.* Love is a prime radicall affection: when the heart cleaves to any good by love, it hates that evill which is moſt contrary to it. How will they ſubmit their lives unto a violent death, who have not ſo much love unto Chriſt, as to make them willing to die a carnall death, to die to ſinne for him? will they loſe their lives, who cannot leave a luſt for Chriſt?

2 Loving Chriſt better then their moſt beloved worldly comforts.

Secondly, victorious ſouldiers for *Chriſt*, muſt love him better then their *moſt beloved worldly comforts*; when he made that promiſe to us, *Mar.* 10. 29, 30. *There is* no man *that hath left houſe, or brethren, or ſiſters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my ſake and the Goſpels*, but *he ſhall receive an hundred fold now in this time, &c.* He thereby intimated what he expects from us, even, *amare Deum uſque ad contemptum mundi.* We may uſe the world as a *ſervant*, but not grow into league with it as a *friend*, *Jam.* 4. 4. *Know you not that the friendſhip of the world is enmity with God?* and that is a ſearching place, 1 *John* 2. 15. *Love not the world, nor the things in the world: if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him.* Theſe two are inconſiſtent, and therefore, certainely he will never be a good ſouldier of Chriſt in whom love to any worldly excellency is predominant.

Gerſon.

1 Cor. 9. 25.
2 Tim. 2. 4.

3 Loving Chriſt ſo as to deny our deareſt ſelves for him.

They muſt deny their *deareſt ſelfe.* It is hard to proteſt againſt

againſt our boſome ſinne, though *groſſely evill* in it ſelfe; it is harder to renounce our alluring worldly comforts, which in themſelves are *lawfull*; hardeſt to deny our *ſelves*, which nature and Religion (in a due order) teaches us to love: Yet *Chriſt* makes this a diſtinguiſhing *character* of his *Diſciples*, and doubtleſſe is a proper *badge* of his *ſouldiers*, *Luke* 14. 26. If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother, wife and children, and brethren and ſiſters, yea, and his owne life alſo, he cannot be my Diſciple; Comparatively, love them all, leſſe then Chriſt, as appeares, *Matth.* 10. 37. Compare Luk. 14. 26. with Mat. 19. 37.

When friends or ſelfe come in competition with Chriſt, or ſtand in oppoſition to him, in this caſe ſaith *Jerome*, we muſt *Patrem calcare, &c.* Here *ſolum pietatis genus crudelem eſſe.* We muſt exerciſe an holy cruelty to our friends and ſelfe. And indeed Chriſt hath no more *true Diſciples or faithfull ſouldiers* in this Aſſembly, then ſuch onely as love not their owne lives in compariſon of their Saviour.

2 The influence it hath.

Such is the nature and working of love, that it ſwayes much with the ſoule, like ſailes to the Ship, it carries one forward even againſt the ſtreame and tide. It was love that brought *Chriſt* from *Heaven* to the *Croſſe*, and will draw any, where it prevailes, from a *Palace* to a *Stake*, for *Chriſt* and his cauſe.

1 Love is a contriving affection.

Love to *Chriſt* and his cauſe is *ingenious* and full of *conſideration* how to carry on its deſignes for his advantage, 1 *Cor.* 13. 5. *Love thinketh no evill*; rather it ſtudies and plots how to communicate it ſelfe in all good offices. The *Spouſes* love coſt her many ſerious thoughts how ſhe might enjoy and ſerve her *Beloved*. Hence ſome perſons are much more uſefull to Church and State then others, becauſe their love to *Chriſt* puts them upon the beſt improvement of their parts, honours, intereſts and influence for his ſervice.

2 Love is a bountifull affection.

Love to Christ and his cause, will be at any *cost* and *charges* to gratifie him, it runnes over to Christ himselfe, and *towards all Saints, Phil. 6. 5.* It was love in *Paul* that made him willing to spend his strength, his spirits, his bloud for the Corinthians, 2 *Cor.* 12. 15. *I will very gladly spend, and be spent for your soules*: and for his *Philippians, Phil.* 2. 17. be offered as a sacrifice for the service of their faith. Christs love to his poore servants thinks nothing in Heaven or Earth too much or too good for them: true love to him will be reciprocall, giving up to him, *sua, suos, se*, thinking all best bestowed on him.

Bern.

3 Love is an industrious affection.

Nothing makes a Christian so *unweariedly operative* as Love. In 1 *Thes.* 1. 3. *Paul* blesses *God* for their *worke of faith, labour of love, patience of hope.* True love to Christ is laborious for him: so expressely, *Heb. 6.* 10. *For God is not unrighteous to forget your worke and labour of love which yee have shewed towards his Name, in that yee have ministred to the Saints and doe minister.* One cord of this love will draw more then a Yoake of Oxen, and carry you with a pleasing violence from service to service.

4 Love is a tolerating affection.

Amongst many other sweete discoveries *Paul* makes of love in that short chapter, 1 *Cor.* 13. there are divers expressions to shew you how patient love is, enduring any thing for the person it loves, *v.* 4. 7. When the heart is full of love to Christ, it makes us willing to *forsake*, to *undertake*, to *undergoe* any thing for *Christ* and his *cause*. This no question made *Ignatius* so cheerefully to invite and meete killing sufferings, having such burning love to Christ that was crucified for him.

Ὁ ἔρως ἐμὸς ἐσταύρωται Ignat *Ep. ad Rom.*

Use 1. Caution.

Be pleased to give me leave this day in behalfe of the *Lambe*, to put in a *Caveat* against carnall selfe-love, which so much blunts and weakens the love of *Christs* souldiers in the *Gospels Conflicts.* If you love your soules better

ter then the *Lambe*, you will never be victorious for him. *They overcame which loved not their own lives unto the death.*

All men naturally love themſelves, and conſequently may have ſome kind of ſelfe-ſeeking love to *Chriſt*, as being the chiefeſt good, and ſo congruous to their neceſſities. But Chriſtians muſt goe further; we ſhoud love Chriſt for himſelfe, as the *primum diligibile*, for his owne infinite excellencies, and then love our ſelves and all other things with reference unto him. Carnall-ſelfe-love, a dangerous weed growing in every mans garden.

Paul was a true *Prophet*, 2 *Tim.* 3. 1. In the laſt dayes perilous times ſhall come; καιροὶ χαλεποὶ, thorny times, full of difficulty: becauſe then ſuch a confluence of wickedneſſe. Eighteen ſeverall factions he names, and the head of all thoſe factions is ſelfe-love. *Men ſhall be lovers of their owne ſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud &c.* Whilſt *Adam* was in *innocency*, the *Image of God* inclined him to act according unto *God*, ſeeking him and his glory in the firſt place. Since the *fall*, the Image of God being loſt, *Selfe is perkt* up; we ſeeke our ſelves in the firſt, and God only in the ſecond place. Few ſeek God for himſelfe, out of love to him: moſt ſeeke God onely in reference to themſelves: this is carnall ſelfe-love, and ſo indeed by ſeeking loſe themſelves, *Matth.* 16. 25. For *whoſoever will ſave his life ſhall loſe it, and whoſoever will loſe his life for my ſake, ſhall finde it.* Carnall ſelfe-love, the head of all the factious.

Much time hath beene ſpent in the *Great Senate* how to finde out and puniſh *Delinquents*. Allow me the liberty in the *Name*, not onely of Church and State, but alſo in the Name of Chriſt, to impeach *One Incendiary*, who hath beene too long winked at. It is a *Boſome Incendiary*, a domeſtick adverſary which dwels within us, I meane, *Carnall Selfe-love*, the loving our owne ends and intereſts better then the publike good, and better then Chriſt himſelfe. Carnall-ſelfe-love the greateſt incendiary.

3 Articles against carnall selfe-love.

It is easie to prove these three Articles at least against carnall selfe-love.

1. *Carnall selfe-love* is the *greatest underminer of Parliament* proceedings. Whence so many *neuters*, whence so many *back-friends* to the *Publike*, but because so many sicke of *Baruchs* disease, *Jer.* 45. 5. *seeking great things for themselves?*

2. *Carnall selfe-love* is the most *treacherous betrayer* of our *Military undertakings*, making too many *Judas*-like, to sell Christ and his cause for *some few peeces of silver, Mat.* 26. 15.

3. *Carnall self-love* is the *strongest obstruction of Scripture Reformation in the Church*; so, many seeke their own, not *the things which are Jesus Christs, Phil.* 2. 21. and therefore will rather hazzard the ruine of all, then suffer their own *Dianaes* to goe downe. By this *craft we have our wealth, Acts* 19. 25. then *Diana* must be cried up, what ere become of the Gospel of Christ. Amongst all other *Jonahs* that endanger the *Ship* of *Church and State*, throw out *carnall selfe-love*, let it no longer sleepe within you, lest the storme continue and grow more tempestuous. Amongst all other *Achans* that bring a curse upon our undertakings, let justice, justice be executed upon your owne *carnall selfe-love*. Passe on *sequestration* to regulate that in your selves which is so great an *enemy to Christ and his cause*.

Use. 2. Exhortation.

As you desire to approve your selves *victorious souldiers* in the Churches conflicts (which would put a most glorious lustre upon your Nobleness, and adde many Pearles to your Crownes) get hearts more enflamed with love to *Christ and his cause*. How *lovely* is your *Saviour* in himselfe, in the beauty of his *Person*, in the glory of his *graces! Cant.* 5. 10. *the chiefest among tenne thousand.* He hath beene *admirably loving* unto you, in *discovering plots* against you, and in *wonder-working providences* for you.

Much encouragement to love your Saviour and his cause better then your own lives.

Should

Should not the *love of Chriſt conſtraine you as it did Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 5. 14. to be active and paſſive for him? O preſſe the Lord with his gratious promiſe, *Deut.* 30. 6. that he would *circumciſe your heart, that you may love him with all your heart and with all your ſoule.* This he expects from you, *Luke* 10. 27. that you ſhould love him with all *your ſtrength*, give him the utmoſt emprovement of the *whole* and *beſt-ſelves.* We looke at you as *Starres* in this our *Heaven.* God forbid our *Starres* ſhould *fall*, that any of them ſhould prove *Comets*: let your *light*, *motion*, and *influence* animate others.

Doe not ſay your *taske* is ſo *difficult*, your *ſufferings* are ſo *ſharpe* that you are diſcouraged. Get more love to Chriſt, that will allay the *difficulty*, and facilitate the *worke*; you may with comfort commit the *keeping of your ſoules to God in wel doing*, who knowes how to ſweeten the bittereſt troubles by his owne *refreſhing preſence.* If God call you forth as *Champions*, poſſibly, yea probably you may have the ſame ſupport which that *Heroicall woman* found, of whom ſtory relates, That being condemned for Chriſt, not long before ſhe was to ſuffer, fell into travaile, and having ſore labour, cryed out grievouſly; whereupon being asked how ſhe would endure Martyrdome, that was ſo ready to ſinke under theſe paines, ſhe anſwered to this purpoſe. *I ſuffer now as a daughter of* Eve, *I ſhall ſuffer then as a child of God, my Father will helpe me.* 1 Pet. 4. 19.

Never ſay, becauſe the *event* is *uncertaine*, therefore it is not beſt to appeare for Chriſt and his cauſe. *Doe* thy *duty*, what becomes a good Souldier, truſt the *Lord of Hoaſts* with the *ſucceſſe.* It is true we live in *trying diſcovering times.* Who knowes but the *providence of God* may be now making the ſame *diſcovery* in *England*, and with the ſame ſucceſſe, that the wiſdome of *Conſtantius Chlorus* A wiſe courſe the Emperor tooke to try the Courtiers,

the *Romane Emperour* made in his Court. He having a mind to trie the ſincerity of his Courtiers, made this propoſall to them. *All they who would ſacrifice to Daemons* (the ſuperſtition of thoſe times) *ſhould continue at Court, and all that refuſed ſhould be caſhiered.* Hereupon ſome ſoone profeſſed their readineſſe to ſacrifice, others publikely denyed it. Such as complyed, the wiſe Emperour chides ſharply, *nt proditores Dei*, and baniſhes them as unworthy to remaine at the Emperors Court, who would betray God himſelfe. He commends them who were *conſcientious*, and would *not ſacrifice*; pronouncing, *tales ſolos dignos eſſe quos Imperator inter amicos muneraret.* Such onely were worthy to be accounted the Emperours friends who were true to God and his cauſe.

What though for the preſent you ſhould be diſparaged as *factious, rebels, and traytors, &c.* The Lord knowes who are moſt loyall to their *Soveraigne*, and moſt *faithfull* to their *Saviour.* Be not diſmaied, the time may come when *Chriſts true hearted ſouldiers in England*, may be vindicated, juſtified, and honoured as much as now they are diſgraced. Our *Brethren* of *Scotland* were *curſed* in too many *Churches* as *Rebels*, yet afterwards by concurrence of *King and Parliament*, upon the *day of Thankſgiving* acknowledged as good ſubjects. Remember *Shadrach, Meſhach*, and *Abednego, Dan.* 3. being condemned, were caſt into the Furnace, *v.* 21. their malignant adverſaries conſumed, *v.* 22. yet they preſerved in the middeſt of the fire, *v.* 24. their God juſtified, *v.* 29. and afterwards they promoted by the King, *v.* 30.

And conſider I beſeech you, that you may encourage your ſelves and one another in the cauſe of the Lamb, the Court Paraſites having obtained the Kings decree againſt *Daniel*, whereby he was caſt into the Lions Den; The Lord moſt admirably turned the ſtreame, *v.* 24. *the King commanded,*

and

and they brought theſe men which had accuſed Daniel, *and they caſt them into the Den of Lions, them, their children, and their wives, and the Lions had maſtery of them, and brake all their bones in peeces, or ever they came at the bottome of the Den.* Yet zealous *Daniel* who loved the cauſe of God better then his owne life, was delivered with *honour* to his *God*, to his *Religion*, together with his *owne advantage*, *v.* 26. 27, 28.

Such as have ſet their love upon God, may in the encouragement of a moſt precious promiſe, conſult and pray, doe and ſuffer, *Pſal.* 92. 14, 15, 16. *Becauſe he hath ſet his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him; I will ſet him on high, becauſe he hath known my Name, he ſhall call upon me and I will anſwer him, I will be with him in trouble, I will deliver him and honour him; with long life will I ſatisfie him, and ſhew him my ſalvation.* The Lord grant you the experimentall taſte hereof in all your exigents. *Amen.*

FINIS.

ENGLANDS PATTERNE AND DUTY IN IT'S MONTHLY FASTS

PRESENTED IN

A SERMON, Preached to both Houses of *Parliament* assembled, on Friday the 21. of *July*, *An. Dom.* 1643.

BEING

An extraordinary Day of publicke Humiliation appointed by them, throughout *London* and *Westminster*, that every one might bitterly bewaile his owne sinnes, and crie mightily vnto God for Christ his sake, to remove his wrath, and heale the Land

By WILLIAM SPURSTOWE *sometimes Fellow of* KATHERINE HALL *in Cambridge, and now* Pastor *of* HACKNEY *neare* LONDON.

Published by Order of both Houses of *Parliament*.

In that day did the Lord God of Hosts call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldnesse, and to girding with sackcloth: and behold joy and gladnesse, slaying oxen, and killing sheep, eating flesh, and drinking wine, let vs eate, and drinke for to morrow we shall die. And it was revealed in my eares by the Lord of Hosts; surely this iniquity shall not be purged from you till you die, saith the Lord God of Hosts, Isa. 22. 12. 13. 14.

LONDON

Printed for *Peter Cole* at the signe of the Glove in Corne-hill neare the Royall Exchange, 1643.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
The Houſe of Lords
AND THE
HONOURABLE HOUSE
Of Commons
ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT.

IT is reported of a great *Perſian Monarke*, that having loſt his royall Conſort, he was ſo deeply affected with ſorrow, as that he refuſed to admit of any comfort: In this height of paſſion, a certaine *Philoſopher* vndertooke, if that he would furniſh him with things neceſſarie for his purpoſe, to raiſe the *dead Queen* againe: the *Emperour* much taken with the *offer*, was willing for that end, to exhauſt all his *Treaſuries*: but the other only demanded of him three names of ſuch perſons as had never felt any greife or ſadneſſe, to engrave them on the *Queens* Monument: which after much ſearch throughout his *Empire* could not be found. Ito the reſtoring of this bleeding & dying *Kingdom*, whoſe wounds every day grow wider and wider, ſhall not deſire the names of any ſuch perſons as have been altogether ſtrangers vnto ſorrow and humiliation, they being thoſe that have drawne the heavieſt judgments vpon it; but the names of ſuch as have been reall and ſolemne mourners before God in the behalfe of this *Land*, which if in any competent number they may be found, I ſhall not feare but this *Kingdome* may ſee a glorious and happy *reſurrection*.

This affection of ſorrow is that which this *Sermon* did firſt call for, from the *Pulpit*, and doth ſtill continue (being publiſhed by your Command) to doe it from the *Preſſe*, as being the moſt ſuitable poſture and dreſſe to the preſent conditon of this *Land*, it cals and invites all, to an holy mourning

and humiliatiation before the Lord, whose sinnes have bin as oyle to the lampe, and fuell vnto the fire, to feed and nourish that displeasure, that burnes in the bowels of the *Kingdome*, But more especially your *Honours*, who are the *two eyes* of the *Kingdome* not only to watch over it for it's good, but to mourne over it for it's sinnes and miserie: not only to be *Reformers* of it, but *Weepers* for it. And the *first stones* of *Reformation*, which are not like the *foundation* of the *Temple*, that was laid with the *weepings* of the old men, and the *shoutings* of the young men, but with the bitter mourning of all sorts will (I doubt not) in the finishing, and perfecting of the worke receive the joyfull acclamations both of young and old, both of *Governours* and *People*, the God of Heaven himselfe turning our water into wine on the wet *seed-time* of *teares*, into an *harvest* of *joy* and spirituall blessings: which that he may speedily doe, prayes,

Your Honours to serve you for Christ.

WILLIAM SPURSTOWE.

A

SERMON PREACHED

To both Houſes of

PARLIAMENT

On Friday, the 21. of *July*, 1643.

1. Sam. 7. 6.

And they gathered together to Mizpeh, and drew water, and powred it out before the Lord, and faſted that day, and ſaid there, we have ſinned againſt the Lord.

THe ſtrength and happineſſe of the State and Kingdome of *Iſraell*, was (if you looke into the preſent Story) ſorely ſhaken and waſted from a double Hand, the Sword of God, and the Sword of Man: the Sword of the *Philiſtines* in one Battell tooke away thirtie thouſand, and the Sword of God at one ſtroake ſwept away fifty thouſand. So that all *Iſrael* in this ſad plight wherein they ſtand, can ſcarce tell what elſe is left them for to doe, but to bewaile Cap. 4. 10. Cap. 6. 19.

their condition: The *Philiſtines* they are ſtrong and cannot be reſiſted, God is angerie, and will not be intreated; they ſigh unto him through the weight of their oppreſſions, but are not eaſed, they *lament after him*, but doe not find him.

In this exigency, the Prophet *Samuel* counſels and excites *Iſrael*, to the practice of two moſt ſeaſonable duties, to a *reall and perfect Reformation*, v. 3. to a *deep and ſerious Humiliation*, *ver. the fift*, the joynt performance of both which, procure no leſſe then a miraculous helpe from Heaven, to the ruine of the *Philiſtines*, and ſalvation of all *Iſraell*. *ver.* 10. 11.

This *Text* (which I have read) containes the *Relation* and *Manner* of *Iſraels* performance of that ſecond duty, to which the *Prophet* did excite them: And in it there are theſe two partes.

The parts of the Text.

Firſt, a *generall Convention and meeting* of the whole State and Kingdome. *They gathered together to Miſpeh.*

Secondly, a *particular account* of what they did at this Meeting, and that is ſet downe in three Actions: 1. they *drew water, and powred it out before the Lord*, 2. *And faſted on that day*, 3. *And ſaid there, we have ſinned before the Lord.*

Theſe three Actions (inlightning the firſt only with ſome breife *Commentarie*) will exactly poynt out the duty and taſke of this Day, which is a Day of *mourning*, a Day of *faſting*, and a Day of *ſelfe arraigning before the Lord.*

And drew water and powred it out before the Lord. Some *Interpreters* vnderſtand it of the water of *Purification*, whereby they teſtified their hope and faith in the remiſſion and waſhing away of their ſinnes. Others thinke that their drawing and pouring forth of water, was a lively ceremony to expreſſe the great meaſure

ſure of their Humiliation, that their Soules were poured forth as water upon the ground. *Hierome* goes alone, at leaſt without any conſiderable Traine, and ſaith, that into this water Curſes were throwne; and that as in the Law, the water of Jelouſie was appoynted for the triall of Adulterie, ſo was this for the tryall of Idolatours whoſe lips did clamme and cleave together, when they had taſted of it. *Hieron. in Quæſt. ſeu traditi Hebr.*

The *Chaldee*, whom *Junius* and *Oſiander* follow, expound it of the plentie of teares, which ſtreamed from their eyes as ſo many fountaines. And this laſt ſenſe, ſhall I at preſent cloſe with: and ſo turne the three Actions in *Iſraels Nationall Convention* (in the middeſt of which faſting is ſo ranked, as to eye and reſpect both the other) into two poynts ſutable to this *repreſentative Aſſembly* of this whole Kingdome now met about the ſame worke and duty.

Firſt, *that true faſters ſhould be weepers.*

Secondly, *that in faſting there ſhould be an acknowledgment and confeſſion of ſinne.*

That *true faſters ſhould be weepers.* Faſting and teares you ſhall find in Scripture to be like two twines that cannot be ſeperated, like a paire of mournfull Doves that alwayes accompany together, *Nehemiah* 1..4. *I ſat down and wept, and mourned certaine dayes, and faſted and prayed before the God of Heaven.* Joel 2.12. *Turne yee to me with all your heart, and with faſting, and with weeping, and with mourning.* *Heſter* 4. 3. *And everie Province whether-ſoever the Kings Commandement and his Decree came, there was great mourning among the Jewes and faſting, and weeping, and wailing.* *Doct.* 1.

For the cleare explicating of this poynt; I will propound two thinges.

First I will ſhew, why teares are requiſite to faſting.

Secondly, what qualifications those teares should have, which are shed in a day of Fast and Humiliation.

Teares are requisite to fasting: for 3. respects.

First, why teares are requisite to fasting, and that in these three respects.

First, in regard of the prevalencie that teares have with the God of Mercy and bowells. *Eusebius* tels a Storie of a certaine *Altar* that was *Clementiæ consecrata, dedicated and consecrated to mercy*, upon which no other Sacrifice was to be layed but teares; intimating therby a peculiar aptnes in tears to stirre up bowels, and to beget Compassions, above all other Sacrifices whatsoever: And indeed with God we shall find them of that efficacy, as that none have bedewed his *Altar* with their unfeined teares, but he hath made their Faces to shine with his oyle of gladnesse. *Hannah in bitternesse of Soule, prayed unto the Lord, and wept sore:* 1. *Sam.* 1. 10. *But she went her way, and her countenance was no more sad:* ver. 18. Good *Hezechia*, by his prayer and teares, reversed the Sentence of death, and had fifteen yeares added vnto his dayes, 2. *King.* 20. 5. 6. *Jacob had power with God: yea, he had power over the Angel, and prevailed:* but how? *he wept and made supplication vnto him, Hosea* 12. 3. 4.

Prevalency of teares strang. in 2. respects.

And this prevalency of teares, as it is great, so it is strange and wonderfull, and that in a double regard

1. *Deorsum fluunt, et Cœlum petunt*: They drop and fall from the eyes to the earth, but yet by their power they reach and pearce the highest Heavens.

2. *Mutæ sunt, et loquuntur*: They hold their peace, and yet they crie, they are mute, and yet they speak, *Psal.* 6. 8. *The Lord hath heard the voyce of my weeping, Lam.* 2. 18. In the Originall it runes thus, *Non taceat pupilla*

pupilla oculi tui, let not thine eye hold its peace.

A ſecond reſpect, that makes teares requiſite, is, becauſe the eye hath been the *cheifeſt Broker* for ſin and vanitie: Sinne made its firſt enterance by the eye, *Gen.* 3.6. and ſtill it is one of the wideſt Gates by which luſts and follies are let into the Soule.

Fit therefore it is, that in the duties of humiliation, the eye ſhould beare a part with the other members of the body; that as the heart doth ſigh, the face doth bluſh, the tongue doth crie, the hand knockes the breaſt, the lippes doe tremble, and the knees do bend, ſo the eye ſhould mourne and weep, it having exceeded in guilt any other part, and member of the body; otherwiſe it's rather the eye of an Idol, then of a Chriſtian.

A third reſpect, is taken from the confluence of all thoſe thinges in a day of Humiliation, which vſually are the occaſions, and riſe of teares. *Three things occaſion teares.*

Now, there are three things, that doe diſpoſe and incline a perſon to weeping.

First, The loſſe, or abſence of ſome Great Good: That was it which put *Micha*, Judges 18.24. into ſuch a ſtrange mixture of paſſions, of anger, weeping, crying out, when being asked, *what aileth him?* he replies, *ye have taken away my gods which I made and the preiſt, and ye are gone away: and what have I more? and what is this that you ſay unto me what aileth thee?* that was it which ſprang as a new leake in *Maries* eys *Joh.* 20. 13 *They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have layd him.* that was it which made *David* and his people when *Ziklag* was burnt with fire, and their wives, their ſonns, and their daughters were taken captives, *to lift up their voyce and weepe, untill they had no*

more power to weep, 1.Sam.30.4. Now in a day of fasting what truly broken and humbled heart reflecting upon its owne condition, finds not such a losse of peace with God, such suspensions of light from God, such an absence of holynesse in it selfe, such a want of mortification of lustes, as may justly call for teares, sighes, and what ever else doth vsually attend great sorrow? Put especially we on this day have cause to mourne, having losse upon losses, that may provoake us thereunto: A losse of Worthies, that have lately fallen, and miscaried in our *Israell*, a losse of hopes and affaires in State, a losse of expectation in maine blessinges, that concerne the beautie and the settlement of the Church whose Foundations are still shaken by the violence and opposition of many sonnes of *Belial*, that are risen up against it. In a word, I am affraid, that most of us are this day at a losse in regard of all those affections, of feare, of shame, of indignation, which should be a stirring in this present duty; the very want of which may cause us to weepe, in that we can fast and mourne no better before the Lord.

Secondly, *the feare of some great approaching evill*. In the *Object* which moves, and begets feare, *futurition* is required as a necessarie condition; but yet all evill the lesse *future* it is, the more *dreadfull* it is: it being with the *Objects* of passion in neareneſse of time, as it is with the *Objects* of sence in neareneſse of place; propinquitie in either making the objects more present, and the impressions therefrom upon the faculties more strong. The feare of *Ninivehes* speedy destruction (which was prophecied to be within foutie dayes) did strike that Heathen King with such apprehensions of dread, as to make him change his Throne for the

pavement

pavement, his roabes for ſackecloath, his mirth and fulneſſe into a bitter mourning and faſting. *Jonah* 3. 6. the going out of the Decree of *Ahaſuerus*, to deſtoy and extirpate forthwith all the Jewes, was that which filled everie Dwelling with ſadneſſe, and everie eye with teares. *In everie province whetherſoever the Kings Commandement and his Decree came, there was great mourning among the Jewes, and faſting, and weeping, and wailing. Eſt.*4.3.

Now, if the feare of imminent evills doe occaſion weeping, what wonder is it if a *faſter* be a *weeper?* who feares almoſt everie evill to be feared: He feares that God may call to remembrance his former iniquities, and make him to poſſeſſe the ſinnes of his youth, and therefore weeps: He feares that God, *whoſe blowes he can better brooke then his abſence*, will not be intreated to take vp in his boſome, but hold him as a ſtranger, and therefore weepes: He feares, that his ſinnes, his deafeneſſe to Gods call, his conterluſtings to Gods will, his impuritie in Gods ſervice, his ſecuritie vnder Gods Judgments may cauſe the hand of Heaven, which is lifted vp in threatnigs, to fall downe in ſeveare puniſhments, and therefore weepes. Speake you, whoſe hearts and eyes are exerciſed in this dayes duty, are not theſe and ſuch-like evills the cauſes of your feares, and the motives to your weeping? *Pſal* 79. 8. *Iob.* 13. 26.

Thirdly, *the ſence and ſmart of ſome greivous paine and extremitie.* That is it, which in Hell cauſes an eternall weeping and gnaſhing of teeth, the fire alwayes burnes, the worme continually gnawes, they have no moment free from paine, therefore no moment free from teares. Now this cauſe of mourning meets with both the former in a day of humiliation as lines in a Center, to make *faſters* to become *weepers*;

for

for then it is, that the afflicted ſoule is made ſicke with ſinne, and burthened with the weight of its owne guilt, cries out, who will take this dagger out of my bowells, this poyſoned arrow out of my heart, this milſtone off my backe, this fire out of my bones, theſe ſtinges out of my conſcience? then it is, that ſeeming ſweetneſſe of ſin is turned into gall, and the heart of a ſinner is ſcalded with the eſtuations of thoſe luſts, with which formerly it pleaſed it ſelfe: not vnlike to the fiſh that is often times boyled in that water in which it ſwimes and ſportes it ſelfe.

I now come to the ſecond particular propounded, to ſhew what kind of teares ſhould be ſhed in Faſts. For there are *lacrymæ mentiri doctæ* (as *Bernard* ſpeakes) teares that are taught to lye and feigne. There are *præficarum lachrymæ*, the teares of hired women, which gaine and monie drawes from them, *Jer.*9.17. there are *lachrimæ Hiericuntinæ*, teares that are like *Jerichoes* waters, though the duties are ſweet in which they be ſhed, yet they are bitter and vnpleaſing.

Ber. Ep. 247.

I ſhall therefore acquaint you with ſix properties, that teares that will preavaile ought to have.

Six properties of prevailing teares.

First: *They muſt ſpring from a tender and broaken heart, freely and voluntarily:* They muſt be like water from a *living fountaine* that flowes naturally; not like water from a *dead pitt* that is drawne forth with engines: like water from a *cloud*, that is melted by the Sun; not like water from a *Still* that is forced with fire: the beames of Gods love are they which muſt diſſolve our hearts, and not the fire of his judgments. An hard heart in times of ſore deſtreſſe may have plentie of teares, and yet retaine its hardneſſe; like marble that ſweates in foule weather, but is not the ſofter: An *Ahab* may humble himſelfe when *God* threatens,

threatens, and a *Felix* may tremble when he heares of Judgment: But a *Joſiah* only whoſe teares ſpring from a broken and tender heart, ſo mournes as to pleaſe God, and prevaile with God: *Chron.* 2.34. 27. *Becauſe thine heart was tender, and thou didſt humble thy ſelfe before God, and didſt rend thy clothes, and weepe before me, I have even heard thee alſo ſaith the Lord.* 2. *King.* 23. 29. *Act* 24. 25.

Secondly, *Prevailing teares, muſt be reforming, and cleanſing teares*, not ſuch as wet only the face, but ſuch as *waſh* the heart. Humiliation without reformation, is like the Word of God in the Letter, which *kils*, and not *quickens*, which *accents* ſinne, & not *leſſens* it, which *haſtens* judgement, and not *defers* it. *Paleneſſe* in the face, and *blood* in the heart, *whiteneſſe* in the eye, and *blackneſſe* in the ſoule, a knee-bowing to him, and *thenghts* riſing up againſt him, an *head* hanging downe like a bull-ruſh, and an *heart* like an Adamant hard and unreformed, are of all ſinnes in Gods ſight the worſt: like the Leaproſie in the Law, which was ever uncleaneſt when whiteſt: And ſhall by God be doomed with the heavieſt of judgements. Hyprocriſie is the firſt borne of Hell, and muſt there looke for its double portion: Oh therefore take heed to your ſelves what you doe this day! be ſure you that are *faſters* be *reformers*, bring your lives to the Rule, and your actions to the Law of God, and let all run paralell with the Word, as an exact, and well-made Diall with the Sunne. 2 *Cor.* 3. 6.

Thirdly, *Prevailing teares and ſorrow muſt eye that more, which diſhonoureth God, then that which afflicts our ſelves:* they muſt be more for that which fighteth againſt his *Image*, then for what is contrary to our *nature*: more for that which defileth the *ſpirit*, then for that which paineth the *fleſh*: we muſt grieve more

that ſinne hath made us *unholy*, then that it hath made us unhappy, that wee have run out of the way of the Law, then that we have run in danger of the Law: wee muſt not cry onely with *Pharoah*, take away this *plague*: but with *Iſrael* in the Prophet, take away all *Iniquity*, and receive us graciouſly, *Hoſ.* 14. 2.

Briſſon de Reg. Perſi. lib. 2. Fourthly, *Prevailing teares muſt be conſtant.* The *Perſians* had one day in a yeare a feſtivall, which they called *vitiorum interitum*, wherein they ſlew all Serpents, and venemous creatures, and after that till the returne of the ſame day, ſuffered them to ſwarme as faſt as ever: not in an unlike manner doe many mourne for their ſins; at ſome ſet day in the moneth, or the yeare appointed by the State, they hang down their head, they cry out of their ſinnes, and make profeſsions of better living, and then till the revolution of the ſame time, ſuffer them to ſpread in their lives, and to grow up in their converſations as faſt as ever.

But thoſe ſuddain motions and flaſhes, thoſe *fits*, and ſtarts in humiliation, are ſo far wide from the mourning of a true Chriſtian, who in a conſtant and regular courſe crucifies his luſts, weakens the ſtrength of ſin, ſighs over his corruptions when he cannot weepe and has a *bleeding heart* oft times, when not a *wet eye*; as that they will be never able to denominate that man a Chriſtian in whome they are only found.

In Categ. cap. de quali. *Ariſtotle* excellently diſtinguiſheth between *colours* that ariſe from paſſion, and from *complection*. The one he ſaith giveth the *denomination* to the ſubject wherein it is, which the other doth not. If the Queſtion be asked, what a like man is *Socrates*? If he be of a pale or high-coloured *complection*, it may be fitly Anſwered, that he is a *pale* man, or a *ſanguine* man; but when a man of another complection

is

is *pale* for feare, or *red* with *bluſhing*; we doe not vſe to ſay, neither can we properly, that he is a *pale* man, or an *high-coloured*. Accordingly in matters of grace, and duties of holyneſſe: we cannot ſay he is a *penitent*, a *zelous*, a *religious* man, whoſe conſtant motions are in a way of ſinne, and his *humiliations* only in ſome ſhort *fits*, that are ſcarce ſo long as the *paroxciſme* of a burning Ague, which in a few howers goes off againe.

Fifily, prevailing teares muſt drop from the eye of hope.

To mourne and not to hope, hath a double evill in it, both in that it defiles, and in that it ruines a man: *defiles*, in that it conceives low and baſe thoughts of God himſelf: in rendering our guilt more omnipotent then his power, and ſin more hurtful then he is good: *ruines*, in that the mind is thereby driven to a dreadfull flight, and wretched contempt of all the true meanes of recoverie. But hope which is as the corke to the net, that keeps it floating amid'ſt the rougheſt Seas, teacheth a relapſed yet repenting ſinner, when he deſpaires in himſelfe to fly to God, when he ſees nothing below him, nothing about him, to beleive there is ſomething above him that can, and will ſupport: It quickens him alſo in the vſe of everie meanes, and makes him to doe as *Marie did*, who being above other ſorrowfull for the loſſe of Chriſt, was above all other moſt dilligent to ſeeke him.

Sixtly, *prevailing teares muſt be timely and ſeaſonable.*

Hiſtorians make mention of a fountaine that never ſent out any ſtreams, but the evening before a famine: this fountaine (I am afraid) our teares have too much reſembled, which have been ſo

late as to ſerve only to bemoane our miſerie, and not to prevent it: had we wept more timely (I am perſwaded) wee ſhould not have ſo many occaſions of weeping, as we now have: we now weep, becauſe the meanes of our hope are much blaſted, and ſucceſſe denyed to our enterpriſes, but we ſhould have wept vnto God that they might have bin bleſſed, and proſpered by his favour. We mourne now becauſe the Heavens are darkened with Gods diſpleaſure, which is ready to fall in ſtormes vpon us, but we ſhould have mourned when the cloud was but an hands breadth, and ſo prevented the gathering of it: and yet let me not diſcourage any, that are newly entered vpon this duty of mourning, as if it were altogether too late: the Jewes had a ſaying amongſt them, that the dore of prayer hath ſometimes bin ſhut, but never the dore of teares, and therefore, you that have not yet mourned, now beginne, and you that have begun, ſtill continue, for *who knoweth, if God will returne, and repent, and leave a bleſſing behind him*, Ioel 2. 14.

I now haſten to application: wherein,

1. *Vſe.* Firſt, I ſhall endeavour to provoke all to an holy, and exceptable weeping, before the Lord.

It is the errand we all come about, let vs not therefore goe away, and leave it vndone. Oh that this day you Nobles and Rulers of the people would begin to them in this weighty ſervice, the mourning of a Great Perſon is moſt powerfull Rhetoricke to perſwade others to weepe:

as

as running metall, will ſooner melt other of it's owne kind then fire alone: ſo will examples ſooner frame mens minds to the ſame temper, then bare and naked devotions can ever doe: neither is it any minoration of your Greatneſſe, to weepe, and to be humbled before your God, to licke the duſt of whoſe feet is greater Honour, then to poſſeſſe Crownes and Septers, without his Favour: Oh that I could prevaile with you of the People, to make this place a *Bochim* with your teares! and to this end I could wiſh, that I had ſome *Moſes* his Rod in my hand, to ſmite all the Rockes that are before me, that they might flow forth with water: A Rod (I meane) of perſwaſion, that might diſſolve, and melt your hearts into teares: I had thought to framed many, and to have told you, that they are *Theriaca potentiſſima*, the beſt Triacle to expell the venome of ſinne, *lixivium forte*, the ſtrongeſt ly to waſh out the deepeſt ſtaines; *imbres vere aurei*, the true golden ſhowers, in which God comes downe into the heart of a Chriſtian. But that we may looſe no time in the dutie, give me leave to propound Five melting Conſiderations, that may incline you to a ſerious mourning.

Five melting Conſiderations.

Firſt, *take into your thoughs your condition by nature.* And ſuch a one it is, which teares and ſighes may better expreſſe then words: a condition of nakedneſſe, blood, impotencie, wrath, (in one word) of ſinne. Hell it ſelfe, which is the draine and ſole receptacle of ſin, and ſinners, is not more full of ſinne in regard of the kinds of it, then your Natures: For, the Seedes

of all thoſe ſinnes, for which the damned are now tormented in hell, lye hid in our hearts, all being alike corrupted in the roote; and therefore it behoves you, if you would eſcape the fulneſſe of wrath, which is due to the fulneſſe of ſinne that is in you, to crie mightily unto God that he would pitty you, yea though your natures be changed, yet you have cauſe ſtill to weepe and mourne. For as *Baſil* ſaid of the roſe, that it was a faire flower, but it wanted not his prickles, that might put him in mind of the curſe the earth was ſubject vnto; ſo in the beſt, there are thoſe remainders and reliques of ſinne, which may cauſe them to mourne and weepe ſtill before the Lord.

Secondly, let me propound *the preſent occaſion as an inducement vnto weeping.* Did you not take this day to afflict your ſoules before God, as not knowing whether you might ſee any more the returne of your monthly Faſts, ſo exceedingly did the wrath of God haſten it's progreſſe againſt you? And now, when you come vnto the dutie, will you doe nothing, that may witneſſe how bitter your ſinnes are unto you, that have procured all thoſe evils? Let me tell you, and that without prophecying, if that which God hath already done, prevaile not to humiliation, that there are judgments not far off, that will prevaile to ruine and deſtruction.

Thirdly, conſider, *what a ſhame it is for a chriſtian, that croſſes and feares ſhould ſit heavie, and that ſinne ſhould ſit light on his ſpirits.*

Sometimes the ſmart of a ſingle croſſe enters ſo deep into vs, as that all expreſſions of ſorrow ſeem to be far below what we feel: Sometimes, the verie newes of an approaching danger, fils the eye

with

with teares, and the mouth with ſhreeks: And yet when we come to ſtand at Gods Bar (as we all doe this day) the confeſſions of the rebellion of our whole lives, the ſad Hiſtorie our ſinnes, and the acknowledgment of Gods wrath due to all, make ſuch weake impreſſions vpon our ſpirits, as they ſcarce produce a ſigh or troubled thought about our condition: Now what a ſhame is it, to heare more outcries from a Chriſtian for one croſſe then for thouſand ſinnes, one of which, hath in it more power and venome to afflict the conſcience, and to make life miſerable, then many legions of divels.

Fourthly, *Conſider, the Lord Chriſt himſelfe how deeply he was affected when he ſtood vnder the weight of our ſinnes, and his Fathers wrath.*

St *Luke* ſpeakes much in one word, when he tels vs, that Chriſt was in an *agonie*, *Luke* 22. 44, but if you pleaſe to admit a breife Commentarie vpon it, out of the *Evangeliſts* themſelves, you may then learne, how ſharpe and bitter the *agonie* was. Will you ſee how it affected his Head? vpon the fore-taſte he began ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, *to be amazed*; how it affected his heart? he began ἀδημονεῖν, *to droope, to faint*; how it affected his ſoule? περίλυπος ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχή, it was all overcaſt with a heavineſſe to death; how it affected his body? it made it *to ſweate great drops of blood. Luke* 22. 44. Shall now our ſinnes thus affect Chriſt and not afflict vs? ſhall they be as monntaines upon his backe, and as Attomes on ours? like to the ſtone of the *Sybils*, (*Dio. Chry. orat.* 13.) which to ſome weighed like leade, and others like a feather: If ſo, know for a certaine, that you whoſe hearts the love of a bleeding

Mar. 14. 33. *Mat.* 26. 37. 38.

and

and crucified Saviour doe not melt, his glorious and terrible power ſhall one day break and afflict for ever.

Fiftly, Conſider, *we have all contributed to that multiplicitie of evils vnder which the Kingdome labours and ſtruggles for life.*

Had Great ones bin more reſolute for God, and not like the top of a Fiſhers Angling rod, have bowed and bended to all purpoſes, and indangger *Religion* to ſave their *Honours*, had our Magiſtrates bin more wakefull to prevent both the ſowing and growth of divers tares, had our Miniſters bin more conſcientious, then to daub with vntempered morter, and to expoſe glaſſe for pearles, had all of vs leſſe complyed with vanities, with faſhions, and ſinnes of the time, God had not been ſo angerie, nor we ſo miſerable, as now we are. Requiſite therefore it is, that as we have brought feuell to the fire to nouriſh it, ſo we now bring water, to quench it, and not ſtand, as many doe, when an houſe is on fire, like idle ſpectatours, that hinder rather then further the quenching.

Tertul.

I have done this vſe, and only by way of caution ſhall adde a few words to releive ſome troubled ſouls, with whom *tears* perhaps are ſcarce, though *grones* are plentifull: be not diſcouraged, as if you had done nothing in the dutie of the day, you have had a rationall ſorrow, though not a paſſionate ſorrow, you have had ſighes which are the inward tears, (as *Auſtin* cals them) though not the outward; and that is the mourning which is moſt effectuall with God.

2. *Vſe.*

To diſcover (for happily we may wonder) why our humiliations and faſtings which have bin ſo frequent,

frequent, have not bin returned with ſucceſſe into our boſomes, ſutable to our deſires: but that ſtill there are as many dangerous ſymptomes of a languiſhing and dying Kingdome as ever. We have faſted, but have we wept? we have wept, but have we wept aright? Give me leave to run over three of thoſe forementiond qualifications, and you ſhall ſee eminent defects in our weepings. *Three defects in our weeping.*

Firſt, the teares which have been ſhed, have bin rather forced then voluntarie, more from the ſmart of Stroakes, then the ſence of ſin, more from a want of outward contentments, then for the loſſe of Gods favour: And therefore it is no wonder, if we ſay with Iſrael we have covered *the Altar of the Lord with teares, with weeping, and with crying out*, and yet he regardeth it not, *Mal.* 2. 13.

Secondly, our teares have not been reforming teares. And here give me leave (Right Honourable) to ſpeake to you whom Reformation moſt concerns, you have paſſed worthy Votes for a ſtrict Obſervation of the Sabbath and of faſting dayes, but you have been too apt to ſit downe without a purſuance of the ſame. Alas! it is not a naked Vote that paſſeth within your walls, that can vote our Churches full and the Taverns emptie: there muſt ſomething elſe be done, before a Reformation in either will be obtained; offenders muſt be puniſhed, Miniſters of Juſtice muſt be quickened, and called vpon by your ſelvs: for elſe you will find that true which *Alphius* the vſurer ſometime ſaid of his clients, *Optima nomina nun appellando fieri mala:* (*Colum. de re ruſt. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7.) good Debters will grow bad paymaſters, if they be let alone.

Thirdly, our mournings have not been conſtant. The hearing of ſome ill tydings, the miſcarying of ſome hopes have cauſed vs to hang downe our heads for a day, and to power forth ſome teares in the preſence of God: but when theſe things have bin a little digeſted and ſlept vpon, we have bin as ſecure about our conditions, dead and flat in our duties as ever before. Our tears have bin like water in the conduits, that runnes at times; but not like water in the ſpring that rnnes conſtantly: by fits and ſtarts we have bin earneſt with God, like the graſſe-hoppers (as *Gregorie* ſpeakes) that make faint aſſaies to fly vp to Heaven, and then preſently fall to the earth againe. But if ever wee would appeaſe God, while his anger burnes, let our eye weep; while he denies, let us beg; while he withdrawes and abſents himſelfe, let vs vnceſſantly crie out, as the Church did, *Jer.* 14. 9. *Oh thou hope of Iſrael, the Saviour therof in the time of trouble, why ſhouldeſt thou be as a ſtranger in the Land, and as a way-faring man that turneth a ſide to tarry for a night.*

Greg' mor. lib. 33. cap. 12.

I come now to the ſecond poynt, which is,

That with faſting and weeping Confeſſion and acknowledgment of ſinne is to be joyned.

The vſing of certaine words in healing the diſeaſes of the body, with which many ignorant people are better acquainted then with prayer, is no other then a ſinfull Charme, but in curing the diſeaſes of the ſoule, and diverting the Judgments of Heaven words are Gods *Recipe*: *Hoſea* 14. 2. *Take with you words, and turne to the Lord, ſay unto him, take away iniquity, and receive vs gratiouſly*: They are the Saints *practice*, *Ezra* 9. 9. *O Lord my God I am aſhamed, and bluſh to lift vp my face to to thee my God: for our iniquities are*

increaſed

increaſed over our heads, and our treſpaſſe is growne vp vnto the Heavens: Dan. 9. 4, 5. *I ſet my face vnto the Lord God, and to ſeeke by prayer and ſupplication, with faſting, and ſackcloth, and aſhes, and I prayed vnto the Lord my God and made my confeſſion.*

For the explicating of this poynt, I will ſhew, firſt, wherein a true confeſſion of ſinne ſtands: Secondly, in what manner it muſt be performed.

True confeſſion is made vp of two particulars, *ſui ipſius accuſatio, ſui ipſius condemnatio*: of a mans accuſing of himſelfe, and of a mans judging of himſelfe.

Firſt, in accuſing himſelfe, he is to be *cœleſtis et fidelis Dei orator contra ſeipſum*, (as *Pariſienſis* ſpeakes) a heavenly and faithful pleader for God againſt himſelfe: he is to ſet out his ſinnes with thoſe particular aggravations, that have run into them, and doe truly greaten them in Gods ſight: for as in *Greek*, we doe not vſually pronounce according to to the long or ſhort Syllable, but accorditg to the *Accent*; ſo in ſinne, God doth not alwayes judg the greatnes from the Fact, but from the circumſtances with which it is committed: or as in matter of Grace, God doth not weigh it by the *Scale*, but tries it by the *touch-ſtone*; ſo in ſinne God doth not weigh it by the *bulke*, but by the *ingreadients*. A ſinne of a leſſer magnitude committed with *light*, with *love*, ſtirres vp and provokes God more, then a greater ſinne with reluctancy, paſſion, or ſurprizall: for *grævius eſt peccatum diligere, quam committere*, it is far worſe to be in love with ſinne, then to commit it, as *Gregorie* well ſaith.

Secondly, In condemning a mans ſelfe, he is to paſſe a ſevere Sentence againſt himſelf, by acknow-

ledging that God may justly let him sinke in the middest of his rebellions, without casting forth a new cord of mercie to help or save; thus did the humble *Prodigall*, *Luke* 15.18.19. *I have sinned against Heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy Sonne.*

Now in the doing of these there is a double good that the sinner gets in the accusing of himselfe, he puts Sathan that is the great accuser of the Brethren quite out of office, he can lay no more to his charge, then he hath already layed to his owne in condemning himselfe; he puts God out of office (as I may so speake) who will not judge them, that have judged and sentenced themselves, 1.*Cor.* 11.31.

But to speake more distinctly of this first part of confession, *viz*, selfe accusation; give me leave to propound three particulars about it.

Three partic. in selfe accusat.

First the *Inditement and charge, that a man prefers against himselfe, it must be speciall, and not generall.*

Confession with many is reckoned to be well enough done, when that some few such overlie expressions drop from their lips, as, that they are sinners God help them, and who is not? and they are heartily sorry for what they have done; but if you descend to particulars, run over the whole Law, and they plead not guilty; Images they defie, sweare they do not, and for Church they come with the first, and goe with the last, as for repentance, if you aske them wherin it lyes, they answer not much vnlike him in *Quintilian*, who being demanded, what σχῆμα, what νόημα was; replyed, truly he could not tell, but if it were any thing to the purpose, he was sure it was in his Declamation: what repentance and sorrow for sinne is, they cannot tell, but

Quintil. instit. l. 2, c. 11.

sure

ſure they are, they have long agoe repented for their ſinnes. But how wide ſuch acknowledgments are from that exact confeſſion which the Scriptures call for, the practice of repenting ſinners doth abundantly evince. How often is *David* vpon his knees in confeſſing his murther, his adulterie? what an Hiſtorie doth *Nehemiah* make of Iſraels ſinnes in his prayer to God? how particularly doth *Paul* deſcribe his madneſſe againſt the Church, his blaſphemies againſt Chriſt? and all to this end, that themſelves may be more aſhamed, and God the more glorified. In ſinnes indeed of ignorance God is pleaſed to accept of confeſſion in the generall, and in the lumpe, but for ſinnes of knowledge he lookes that they be brought in as diſtinct debts, and vrged in our confeſſions as ſo many new Inditements againſt our ſelves. *Neh. cap. 9.*

Seconly, as we are to charge particulars vpon our ſelves, ſo alſo among them *to ſingle and cull out our principall and cheife ſinnes, ſpreading them before God with all their aggravations*: As Phiſitions in their *Anatomie Lectures*, though the whole body lye before them, yet they read cheifely upon ſome more noble and Architectonical parts, the braine, the heart, the ſtomach, or the like, ſo in our humiliations, though we bring the whole body of ſinne and death into Gods preſence, yet are we to dwell andinſiſt cheiſly vpon thoſe corruptiõs, which have a greater tranſcendency of evill in them above others: As for inſtance, vpon our vnbeleife, which is a mother ſinne, and carries a thouſand others in the wombe of of it: vpon your worldly mindedneſſe, which takes of the ſtrength of all our affections from God, and pitcheth it vpon the

creature, like to an ill ſpleene that robs the body of it's beſt noriſhment to feed it ſelfe. Vpon the breaking of our ſolemne Covenants made and renewed with God, a ſinne which above many others, hath helped to vnſheath the Sword of God againſt vs, and to let forth that diſpeaſure and indignation of the Lord, which burnes like a fire, that will not be quenched.

Thirdly, *In Confeſſion we are to charge vpon our ſelves thoſe powerfull ſtirrings of luſt, which ſpring from the ſinfull frame and conſtitution of our nature* and derive a venome to everie action that comes from us; ſin being in the facultie, as poyſon in the Fountaine, that ſheds infection into everie thing, that proceedes from it. And this is it, which begets an indiſpoſition of heart to holy ſervices, that in our prayers damps our zeale, fervencie, humiliation, ſelfe abhorrency; that in our meditations makes vs roving and vnſetled, driving to no poynt or iſſue, like a ſhip in a tempeſt, that toſſes much, and ſayles little; that in our converſe mingles much levitie, frowardneſſe, vnfaithfullneſſe: in a word, that is it, which though it doe not make our holy duties ſinnes, and ſo hatefull to God, (as our Adverſaries ſlander vs) yet doth contribute ſuch a vitiouſneſſe, as a foule channel doth to cleane water, to everie thing that proceeds from vs, as that God may juſtly charge vs for mixing our ſin with his grace, and throw all our beſt workes as dung in our faces. Great reaſon is there therefore, that we ſhould both accuſe our ſelves for this pravity and deordination of nature, and before God condemne and ſentence our ſelves for the curſed fruites that flow from it, which is the ſecond branch of

Bellarm. de juſtif. lib. 4. cap. 10.

of true confeſſion; that is breifly to be vnfolded.

This *ſelfe condemnation lyeth in two things.* Firſt in acknowledgment, that the vmoſt wrath and ſeveritie of God is juſtly due to ſuch ſinnes as we have fallen into: for though a juſtified perſon by his tranſgreſſions doe not *de facto* become ſubject to the wrath and vengence of God, being a perſon priviledged and exempted from the maledictions of the law, yet they doe *de merito* make ſuch a perſon lyable to death; for the covenant of grace doth not nullifie the merit of ſinne, but cauſeth that ſinne ſhall not actually condemne and exclude ſuch a perſon from ſalvation; So that a regenerate man when he hath ſinned againſt God, may truly ſay, as the Prodigal did, *Luke* 15.18. *I have ſinned againſt heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy Sonne.* Yea, it is his duty in ſuch a manner to ſentence the merit of his ſinnes, that he may the more abundantly admire the riches and fulneſſe of that grace, that hath delivered him from ſo heavie a curſe.

Secondly, *In ſelfe condemning*: we muſt confeſſe that the ſmart and chaſtiſements from God, which for ſinne at any time we lye vnder, are exceeding juſt and righteous. Hath God withdrawen from any of vs the light of his countenance becauſe of our ſinnes, and turned his ſmiles into frownes? hath he ſealed vp our lips, ſtraitned our ſpirit? hath he kindled a fire in our bones, hath he blaſt our eſtate, hath he put gall into our contentments, and made life it ſelfe a ſore and heavie burthen vnto vs? yet muſt we give glory vnto god, and ſay, as the Church did in the height of all it's afflictions,

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the Lord our God is righteous in all his workes, for we have not obeyed his voyce, Dan.9.14.

I come now to the manner, how the duty of confession is to be performed, and that consists of of divers ingredients and qualifications.

Five Qualific. in a true Confession.

First, *a genuine confession of sinne must be performed with a great measure of selfe abasing, and selfe humbling.* The Leaper in the Law *Levit.*13.45. was prescribed to have such a carriage and behaviour as might most clearely expresse his shame and sorrow for such sins as had drawn so heavy hand of God upon him, he was to goe with his garments rent, that all might see and behold his leaprosie: with his head bare, to typifie what a servant of servants he had been, what a drudge to his lusts, and the will of the flesh: with his lip covered, to expresse (as some of the Hebrewes say,) that he was fit for no companie or friendly salutes, but to sit and mourne alone: to crie, uncleane, uncleane; thereby to proclaime his owne miserie, and forwarne others that they approach him not, least they be defiled by touching him: this deportment of the Leaper, some of the Antients have thought, to be a lively embleme of a penitent and broken sinner, who when he come before God, to acknowledge his vilenesse, is to use all meanes, and to take all advantages of abasing and shaming himself in his presence: he is in some measure to afflict his body in the laying aside all ornaments; he is to confesse his vassalage to his lusts, in whose service his hands and his heart have been so much hardned: he is to mourne, as one that deserves to have none to be a comforter: he is with doubled and loud confessions to cry

Vide Mendoc. in lib. 1. Reg. cap. 7. Num. 6. Annot. 25.

out before God and man, that he is *as an vncleane thing, and all his righteouſneſſes are as filthy ragges*, *Iſaiah* 64. 6.

Secondly, *true confeſſion as it debaſeth a ſinner, ſo muſt it exalt and ſet vp God.* In this worke God and a ſinner are like unto *quantitas diſcreta*, and quantitas *continua*, the one of which may be infinitely diminiſhed, and the other infinitely increaſed: Gods mercy in bearing, pardoning, healing that may be highned, and exalted without bounds, and mans wretchedneſſe and baſeneſſe that may be ſo aggravated, as to make him worſe then nothing: Both theſe things doth *Nehemiah* excellently performe, in that confeſſion which he makes in the behalfe of the Church, which is all interchangeably woven and interſtreaked with an holy exalting of Gods goodneſſe, and a ſerious acknowledgment of their vileneſſe. He begins *cap.* 9. *ver.* 7. to *ver.* 16. with a pithie and ſweet abridgment of Gods goodnes to Iſrael, made kſowne in eminent deliverances, pretious mercies, and ſtrange miracles: then he ſubjoynes their ill requitall of this his love, from *ver.* 16. to *ver.* 19. then from *ver.* 19. *to ver.* 26. he declares a new, how good God was to them, when they had been thus evill to him: and then againe addes, their inflexableneſſe and diſobedience vnder all his continued goodneſſe. And thus like checker worke in white and blacke, in a narration of Gods mercies, and Iſraels vnthankefulneſſe, he continues his prayer vnto the end.

Thirdly, a *true Confeſſion muſt be voluntarie. Pij non trahuntur ad tribunal dei, ſed ſponte accedunt:* holy men prevent ſummons in Gods Court, and re-

ſolve vpon a voluntarie appearance, they are active in this worke, and not paſſive. Wicked men when God awakens their conſciences in their boſome, and makes the ſmell of the brimſtone and the fire of Hell, to come up into their noſtrils, when their ſoule is ſitting upon their lips, and ready to take it's flight into an other world, will then happily crie out of their ſinnes, and ſeeke pardon, which in their lives they have diſpiſed; but all this is like the howling devotion of ſome, deſperate mariner in a ſtorme, which is not at all out of affection, but out of feare, which will in the end be as farre from peace, as it is at the preſent from trueth, it is the voluntarie penitent that finds mercie, and not he *qui ad delinquendum exporrigit frontem, ad confitendum contrahit*, as *Tertul.*

Fourthly, *a true confeſſion it muſt be reall and ſincere.*

It muſt be a worke of the heart, and not of the lips, elſe though we be much in the dutie, we ſhall reape litle of the fruite of it. Sinceritie is that, which in everie ſervice obtaines the bleſſing, but eſpeciall in this, when an humbled ſoule lies in the middeſt of darkeneſſe as in a dungeon, ſinceritie in it's prayers in it's confeſſions, is as a chinke to let in ſome beames of light, and hope, when as all ſhewes and pretenſes without it in any kind whatſoever, are but like windowes faſtned vpon a thicke wall, that though they contribute beautie to the building, and ſeeme ſpecious to the beholder without, doe yet tranſmit no light to the dweller within.

Fiftly,

Fiftly, *a true confeſſion muſt exclude a willing returne to ſinne againe.* Among many names which *Pariſienſes* gives to confeſion, this is one, he cals it *ſpiritualis vomitus*, ſpirituall vomit, whereby the burthened ſoul doth eaſe it ſelfe, like an overcharged ſtomake by getting vp that, which lies hard and indigeſted upon it. Now it is the part of a dogge to take up his vomit, and not of a man, much leſſe of a chriſtian.

Oh therefore take heed what you doe, that are exercíſed in the weighty duties of this Day! doe not turne your faſtings and confeſſions into a lye by to morrowes looſe living, contradict not the words that have gon forth out of your mouthes, by a freſh practice of ſuch ſinnes, which you have now engaged your ſelves to relinquiſh, let no luſt that you have profeſſed this day to be a thorne in your ſides, be as a crowne or garland on your head to morrow, take nothing againe as a freind into your boſome, that you have this day looked upon as an enemie, But if any man ſhall dare to mocke God, and by freſh apoſtacies to breake the ſolemne covennat that he hath now entered into, let him know this for a certaine, that if there be juſtice in Heaven, or fire in Hell, he ſhall one day be filled with the bitter fruits of his owne wayes, and ſhall find the wages of ſinne to be death. For the application of this poynt, I ſhall confine my ſelfe unto two Vſes, the firſt whereof ſhall conſiſt only of ſome directions, that may help us in confeſſion, which to performe aright, is not the leaſt part of a chriſtians worke or care.

First, *ſtudie well your hearts.* the heart is a vaſt maze 1. *Vſe.*

and labyrinth, in which not he that runnes faſteſt, ſooneſt comes to an end, but he that walkes moſt circumſpectly: as a darke vault, that ſtands in need of al the candles of the Lord, for to enlighten it: as a vaſt Sea, which needs the longeſt line for to fathome it: and the more you are acquainted with it, the more you ſhall ſee cauſe to abhorre your-ſelves, and matter to plead againſt your-ſelves. There are in the eye a thouſand vanities, adulteries, pride, curioſitie, thefts, and the like, but *ſi trabs in oculo, ſylva in corde*, if there be a beame in the eye, there is a wood in the heart: there are in the hands violence, rapines, bloudſhed, but they are there only as water in a ſtream, the heart is the fountaine, that feeds and nouriſheth it: in all the members there is a fulneſſe of ſin, but the heart is the roote that derives life and ſtrength vnto all: as the Sea, that filles the Rivers, but yet it ſelfe is never the leſſe emptie: After all communications and diffuſions of luſt into everie facultie there are in the heart as the proper ſeate, Atheiſme, blaſphemies, treaſons againſt the very life and being of God, ſins at which the very fleſh itſelfe will quake and tremble, when they doe begin to peep and put out in the verie ſhaddow of a thought.

Now can a man that is any way apprehenſive, that he hath ſuch a treaſure, ſuch an Hell, ſuch a magaſin of ſins within him, want what to confeſſe? and what to condemne himſelfe for in the ſight of God? no certanly, words he may want, and teares and ſighes, but never matter of confeſſion, and aſtoniſhment, were his life drawne out to an eternitie. it is the ignorance only that men have of their hearts, that filles them with pride, boaſtings, preſumptions

ſumptions of their eſtates, opinions of their goodneſſe that make them like the Phariſie that can find little to confeſſe, but much to commend himſelfe for; whereas if God did but diſcover the true condition of their hearts vnto them, they would like the Publican knock and ſmite their breſts? and cry out, Lord be mercifull to me a ſinner.

Secondly, *Get a ſpirituall knowledge of the Law of God.* That is it which as a light diſcovers thoſe corruptions and ſins which lie hid and vnſeen in the darke night of ignorance, and makes them to appeare in their due ſhape and proportion: *Paul* while this light of the Law ſhone into his heart, was *alive* (as himſelfe confeſſeth) *Rom.* 7. 9. full of conceits of his own righteouſneſſe, and abilities to performe what ever the Law had required to ſalvation: but when *the Commandement came, ſinne revived, and Paul dyed*: all his preſumptions and miſperſwations they withered and fell away as leaves doe from the trees in Autumne, and his ſins they like the Crowes neſts appeared, which before are unſeen and undiſcerned: then he ſaw that to be a mountaine, which before he judged to be a moate, and that to be ſin, which before he looked vpon as righteouſneſſe, then he ſaw much to bemoan, much to confeſſe, and to be aſhamed of, but nothing to boaſt, and glorie of: ſome ſins indeed the weake glimmerings of nature may diſcover vnto men to be vile; lying, luxurie, idleneſſe; the *Cretian Poet* could tax in his owne countrie men: but to read over the whole Hiſtorie of a mans life without any other candle, is as impoſſible, as to turne over great volumes by the light of a glow-worme. *Tit.* 1. 12.

Thirdly, *Keepe alive in your hearts, the apprehension of some particular sinnes, for which God hath deeply humbled you.* Christians in their way to Heaven as they are not without assaults, temptations, importunities of the flesh; So are they not sometimes without fals and bruses, lusts tempt and they yeild, the flesh flatters and must be gratified, and by this meanes oftentimes their peace is impaired, and their consciences deeply wounded: Now if any of us have such blacke dayes in our Calenders, such foule sins in our private Registers, that may mind us what we have sometimes bin, let vs as much as we can, keep vp the apprehension of that deformitie, uglinesse, contrariety to the Law, which they seemed to have, when first God set them vpon our consciences, the fresh remembrance of sin in this kind; it is like a pease in an issue, that keeps it open and makes it run: it makes the heart to be in a broaken and melting frame, to be free in confession and earnest in prayer, that God would shew him mercy, and let him live before him.

Fourthly, *Reflect seriously upon your wayes.* Running waters cast no shaddow, no more doe fleeting thoughts make any representation of a mans condition: he that rides post, can never make a true mappe of a Countrie, nor that man any discoverie of himselfe whose thoughts doe not now and then make a stand and looke backward, it is consideration, that tels vs what need we stand in of mercie to pardon us, and what need we have to confesse our sinnes, that we may be pardoned: it's consideration, that makes the issues of sinne dreadfull, and causeth us with trembling to seeke him whom we have offended, and to turne our feete unto his Testimonies.

A second

A ſecond Vſe is in breife to diſcover. how injuri- 2. *Vſe.*
ous they are, not only vnto themſelves, but unto the the happineſſe of the whole Kingdome, that would in theſe ſad times crie downe all acknowledgment and confeſſion of ſinne, as that which is vſeleſſe, and unbecomming the dayes and times of the Goſpel, and would by certaine artes and wyles put a beautie vpon moſt miſhapen and deformed opinions. *Pauſanias* tels a ſtorie, of a mirrour in the Temple of *Smyrna*, that if any that had a beautifull face, looked in it, he would appeare exceedingly deformed; and if any that were ilfavoured did looke in it, they did appeare beautifull and amiable. not much unlike to this glaſſe are their fancies, which render the bleſſed truthes of God, ſorrow for ſinne, confeſſion of ſinne, and prayer for pardon, as things that the Law of the Goſpel doth not injoyne, or Chriſt accept, and crie up a libertie and freedom from the Law, as a rule to guide and order our converſations, by which Opinion if they ſhould once come to prevaile in mens minds, they will quickely bid farwell to all holineſſe. But I ſpare to ſpeake any more, becauſe that you with whom the weightie affaires of the Church are betruſted, will doe that right to the Goſpel and trueth, which ſhall beſeeme Perſons of your worth and pietie.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 13. *l.* 4. *for devotions r. directions. pag.* 14. *l.* 8. *r. preſcribed, pag.* 17. *l.* 10. *r. ſtroak.*

Die Jovis 27. Julij, 1643.

IT is this day Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that Master *Spurſtowe* hath hereby thankes given him from their Lordſhips, for the great paines taken by him in his Sermon he made in Saint *Margarets* Church *Weſtminſter* before the Lords and Commons on Friday the 21. of this inſtant *July*, at the publike Humiliation; And is hereby deſired to cauſe his ſaid Sermon to be forthwith Printed and Publiſhed.

John Browne Cler. Parl.

Die Veneris 21. Julij, 1643.

IT is this day Ordered by the Houſe of Commons, that Maſter *Salloway* doe give thankes to Maſter *Spurſtowe*, who at the deſire of the Houſe this day Preached before the Commons at St. *Margarets, Weſtminſter*, it being an extraordinary day of publicke Humiliation, and that he be deſired to print his Sermon. And it is Ordered that no man ſhall print his Sermon, but whom the ſaid Mr. *Spurſtowe* ſhall Authorize under his hand-writing.

H. Elſyng Cler. Parl. D. Com.

I appoint Peter Cole *to print my Sermon.*

William Spurſtowe

THE EARLE OF ESSEX HIS LETTER TO Maſter Speaker.

July 9. 1643.

With ſome briefe Animadverſions on the ſaid Letter.

OXFORD,
Printed by *Henry Hall*, 1643.

Maſter SPEAKER,

I *Would now have given you the true Relation of the ſkirmiſh on Sunday laſt between ſome of my Horſe and the Enemies neare* Buckingham; *but Sir* Philip Stapleton *and Colonell* Goodwin *being then upon the place, I referre that Relation to them: ſince when being informed that the King had ſent more Forces to* Buckingham *to maintain that Place and bring thoſe parts into contribution, and give us battaile there: hereupon I advanced with the Armie towards that Town, where the Enemie ſtayed untill the Armie came within two miles of them, and then*

made haſte away towards Banburie, notwithſtanding they had perſwaded the People that they would not quit the Place till they had beaten me out of the Countie. I then underſtanding that they were fled held it not fit to go to the Town with mine Armie, but ſent Colonell Middleton with ſome Horſe to clear that Town and Coaſt, which they did, and then adviſed where to quarter with moſt conveniencie for our Armie, and moſt readie for the Enemie, the Queenes Forces being like to joine with them verie ſuddenly; and that our Armie may better ſecure the Parliament and Citie of London and Counties adjacent, and be more ſafely ſupplied with monies from London, and lie moſt conveniently to joyne with the Forces with the Lord Gray in Northamptonſhire, I was adviſed to march to great Brickhill, as the moſt fit Place for all purpoſes. The Enemie being ſo ſtrong in Horſe, and the Armie being neither recrewted with Horſes, Armes, nor Saddles, it is impoſsible to

keep

keep the Countries from being plundered, nor to fight with them but where and when they list, we being forced when we move to march with the whole Armie, which can be but ſlow marches, ſo that the Countries muſt ſuffer much wrong, and the cries of poor People are infinite. If it were thought fit to ſend to his Majeſtie to have Peace; with the ſettling of Religion, the Lawes and Liberties of the Subject, and to bring unto juſt Triall thoſe chiefe Delinquents that have brought all this miſchiefe to both Kingdomes; and as my Lord of Briſtol ſpake in Parliament, how we may be ſecured to have thoſe things performed hereafter; or elſe (if his Majeſtie ſhall pleaſe to abſent himſelfe) there may be a day ſet down to give a period to all theſe unhappy diſtractions by a Battaile, which when and where they ſhall chooſe, who may be thought any way indifferent, I ſhall be ready to performe that dutie I owe you. And that it may not bring with it a Treatie, the Propoſitions

to be agreed upon between his Majestie and the Parliament may be sent to such an indifferent place that both Armies may be drawn near one to the other, that if Peace be not concluded, it may be ended by the sword; no Officers of the Armie to be of the Committee, nor any entercourse to be between them. So I am

Your assured Friend

ESSEX.

Great Brickhil,
July 9.
1643.

THis Letter will need no Interpreter, onely the Reader may pleaſe to obſerve what is now the chiefe taske of the Rebels Armie [*To ſecure the Parliament and Citie of London.*] for as that wretched Citie hath been both Midwife and Nurſe of this Rebellion, which ſome deſperate Malecontents had cunningly begotten; ſo now their Generall muſt ſo order his buſineſſe, that neither the one nor the other be brought to an accompt: for if the *Members* be diſturbed, the *Contrivance* would ceaſe, and not to protect their Citizens would ſtop *Contribution*, and ſo their Armie (and this bloudie Civill War) would melt and diſſolve into our former happie peace.

Next, conſider in what caſe their Armie now apprehends it ſelfe, who foreſeeing *Her Majeſtie* would advance out of the North, Declared it was not in their power to prevent Her, but that (maugre all they could do to the contrary) *The Queenes Forces would ſuddenly be joyned to the Kings*: which accordingly was done, Her Majeſtie meeting her Lord and Soveraigne in *Keinton* Field, and thereby manifeſted that She valued their Forces no more than their lies and ſlanders.

Again, you may obſerve what excellent good Maſters the Authours of this Rebellion have ſtill approved themſelves, that their Generall the Earle of *Eſſex* (whoſe repute in the world had caſt ſome credit on theſe mens deſignes) ſhould now be rewarded with ſo ſlight and cheap an eſtimation, as if he had been a common ſtander by. For though in the beginning they ſmooth'd and courted him to undertake their Cauſe; and (after to continue him) paſſed a fine Vote, *That* Robert *Earle of* Eſſex *had deſerved ſo highly, that He and his Houſe ſhould be recorded to all Poſteritie for their ſervice done to the Common-wealth*: whereby they heaved Him up to ſuch a value among the people, that a meer Letter of his to *Iſaak Pennington* from *Northampton* was able to command an hundred

dred thousand pounds in foure dayes; yet now is he sunke to so low a rate in their affections, that He is fain to complain, and (as here He doth) beg not onely for *Men*, *Money*, and *Horses*, but for *Saddles*, and such other particulars as were not wont to finde room in his Excellencies Letters: nay, and *Isaak Pennington's* own Chaplain (one that for stealing a Gown and his good abilitie in Learning was fain to leave the Universitie) doth now preach against Him, and whether it will stay at a meer neglect, themselves best know. Nor is it their Generall's case alone, Sir *John Hotham*, Colonell *Essex*, with others (too many now to mention) have as amply been rewarded; the Colonell imprisoned because he was too fair a Rebell, and not so vile an Enemie as that bloudie Coward *Nathaniel Fines*; and *Hotham* (with his Son and Familie) imprisoned, wounded, pillaged of all his vast Treasure, though he was the first great Stickler in their Cause, and if he opened not the first mouth, yet he held up the first hand against His Majestie; for without *Hotham* they might have Voted and gnashed their teeth against the King, but gone no farther, he being then possessour of His Majesties Magazine. But *Hotham* was rich, which (as their case stands) is against the Priviledges of Parliament, they being resolved (as *Suetonius* sayes of *Vespasian*) to make their Agents *Sponges to suck in all they can, and after squeeze them for their own use.*

In vitâ Fl. Vespasiani.

The next thing observable is an ingenuous confession (of him that knowes best) who is now Master of the Field; *The Enemie* (sayes the Earle) *is so strong in Horse, and this Armie being neither recrewted with Horses, Armes, &c. it is impossible to keep the Countrey, &c. nor to fight with them but when and where they list, We being forced when we move, to march with the whole Armie*, to keep our selves from being broken. Nor can the Earle confide in those few Forces he hath, for he complaines in his late Letter to the Countie of *Essex*, of *the loosnesse*

neſſe and inconſtancie of his Souldiers; by *looſneſſe* he meanes running away from him, and by *inconſtancie* running away from before Us, when we offer to charge them. But the words themſelves are full and home.

And I cannot paſſe that the Earle is troubled at *thoſe horrible outrages done to the Countries*; and I confeſſe I am glad to ſee Him returned to ſo much ſenſe of his Honour, that He findes himſelfe aggrieved at theſe deſperate villanies. For (as He here ſaith) *The cries of the poore people are infinite*; but who have been the Authours, or are the Actours in theſe common robberies, ſhall be recorded to Poſteritie, to the laſting infamie of theſe bloudy Hypocrites, who cut our throats in courteſie, and are not ſatisfied with our Money, unleſſe they have our lives. And it is no wonder if my Lord be weary of ſuch as theſe.

Now if you take notice that the Earle deſires them, *to ſend to His Majeſtie to have Peace, with the ſettling of Religion, the Lawes and Liberties of the Subject, and to bring unto juſt triall thoſe chiefe Delinquents that have brought all this miſchiefe upon both Kingdomes.* I muſt needs tell you they are no new words; for His Majeſtie made this motion too often now to mention; nay, (upon an exact ſurvay) this very thing hath been called upon by His Majeſtie above fixſcore ſeverall times in His Declarations and Meſſages; that (if poſſible) He might have ſtopped this iſſue of bloud, which ſince hath run ſo freely in all parts of this Kingdome. But whether the Earles motion for Peace, be as reall and cleare as His Majeſties was heretofore, will not eaſily be evinced; onely it is manifeſt, the Earles thoughts did not ſo farre abhorre the very name of Peace as others of his Faction, for on the reading of this Letter among the remnant in the Lower Houſe, ſuch a noiſe was made, and ſuch a duſt raiſed, both in the Houſe, and among their Faction in the Citie, as if the Earle had

now perſwaded them to remember themſelves, & ſubmit to His Majeſtie, which (you will ſay) would quickly have been Voted for another new and *horrible Plot*. And for *bringing Delinquents to a Legall triall*, let them conſider thoſe they have tried already, and thoſe they Voted ſhould never be Tried; the Earle of *Strafford*, Maſter *Tomkins*, Maſter *Challoner*, Maſter *Yeomans*, Maſter *Bouchier*, theſe (to ſay but ſo) received their Trials: and the Lord *Kimbolton*, Maſter *Hollis*, Sr *Arthur Haſlerig*, (M. *Hampden*) M. *Pym*, and M. *Strode*, were Declared too innocent to be ſtained with a purgation. Remember for what end the former died, and the later lived, I ſay no more.

And it is worth your notice how he quoats the Earle of *Briſtol* for words ſpoken by His Lordſhip in Parliament; the words are in that excellent and ſeaſonable Speech made by his Lordſhip for *Accommodation*, May 20. 1642. which (becauſe they are excellent words) I ſhall repeat them; *The greateſt difficultie* (ſayes my Lord) *of Accommodation may ſeem to be, how that which is agreed upon, may be ſecured for the future; this is commonly the laſt point in Treaties betwixt Princes, and of greateſt niceneſſe; but much more betwext a King and his Subjects, where that confidence and beleefe which ſhould be betwixt them, is once loſt; and to ſpeak clearly, I feare, that this may be our caſe, for it is much eaſier to compoſe differences ariſing from Reaſon (yea even from wrongs) then it is to ſatisfie* Jealouſies, *which ariſing out of diffidence and diſtruſt, grow and are varied upon every occaſion.* Which Speech the Earle of *Eſſex* is pleaſed now to take up, ingenuouſly confeſſing, it was prudent ſober counſell, for indeed it foretold them what ſince we all have felt, as any that peruſe it may evidently perceive.

Once more you may obſerve, that the Earle in this His Motion for a Treatie, would exclude *all Officers of his Armie from being of the Committee*; for my Lord ſees too many de-

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cayed Members have Voted themſelves to be Colonels and great Officers, who being their own Carvers have found ſweet and frequent Pay-dayes, and would therefore be unwilling to recurre into a beggarly Peace.

But (to trouble you with no more) the Earle hath received ſo ſmall encouragement from His ingratefull Patrons, that He wiſhes a diſpatch whether by War or Peace, and therefore tels them here, that if they have no minde to *compoſe theſe unhappy diſtractions* fairly, that there might be *a day ſet down to give a period to all by a Battaile*; which if it be agreed upon, he ſayes, He *ſhall performe that dutie which he owes unto them*: but what that *dutie he owes unto them* is (for he ſpeakes indefinitely and comes not to particulars) lies concealed in his own breaſt. And ſure I ſhould believe it were not much, conſidering he hath ventured his life and fortune in their ſervice, and yet hath arrived at no greater eſtimate in their eyes, than to be next to Miſtreſſe *Ven*, farre inferiour to my Ladie *Waller*, who expects every houre (by participation with her Husband) to be Ladie Generall.

FINIS.

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England. Lords House of

A

CATALOGUE OF THE NAMES OF THE DVKES, MARQVESSES, Earles and Lords, that have abſented themſelves from the PARLIAMENT, and are now with His MAIESTY. And of the Names of the Lords that Subſcribed to levie Horſe to aſſiſt His *Majeſtie* with.

A Copie of all the Cavaliers *of his* Majeſties *Marching Army, with the number of Captaines in each ſeverall Regiment; every Regiment containing a thouſand Souldiers.*

As alſo, A Liſt of the Army of his Excellency, ROBERT, Earle of *Eſſex*: With the Names of the Troops of Horſe under the Command of *William* Earle of *Bedford*. Each Troop conſiſting of ſixtie Horſe; beſides two Trumpetters, three Corporalls, a Sadler, and a Farrier. With the Inſtructions ſent by the *Parliament* to his *Excellency*.

A Liſt of the Navie Royall, and Merchants Ships: the Names of the Captaines, and Lievtenants; their men and burdens, *for the Guard of the Narrow-Seas, and for* Ireland.

Moreover,

The Names of the Orthodox Divines, preſented by the Knights and Burgeſſes, as fit perſons to be conſulted with by the *Parliament* touching the Reformation of Church Government and *Liturgie*.

Laſtly,

The Field Officers choſen for the *Iriſh* Expedition, for the Regiments of 5000. Foote and 500. Horſe.

Printed 1642.

Charles by the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland France and Ireland defendor of the faith etc

A CATALOGVE OF THE NAMES OF THE Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles and Lords, that have Abſented themſelves from the PARLIAMENT, *and are now with His* MAJESTIE.

THe Lord Keeper.
Duke of Richmond
Marqueſſe of Hertford.
Marqueſſe Hamilton.
Earle of Cumberland.
Earle of Bathe.
Earle of Southampton.
Earle of Dorſet.
Earle of Salisbury.
Earle of Northampton
Earle of Devonſhire.
Earle of Carliſle.
Earle of Clare.
Earle of Weſtmorland.
Earle of Monmouth.
Earle of Lindſey.
Earle of Newcaſtle.
Earle of Dover.
Earle of Carnarvan.
Earle of Newport.
Earle of Thanet.
Lord Moubray.
Lord Strange.
Lord Willoughby.
Lord Longavill.
Lord Rich.
Lord Andover.
Lord Faulkconbridge.
Lord Lovelace.
Lord Paulet.
Lord Newarke.
Lord Coventry.
Lord Savill.
Lord Dunſmore.
Lord Seymor.
Lord Capell.

A Catalogue of the Names of the Lords that ſubſcribed to Levie Horſe to aſſiſt His Majeſtie.

TO pay Horſes for three Moneths, thirty dayes to the Moneth, at two ſhillings ſix pence *per diem*, ſtill advancing a Months pay, the firſt payment to begin ſo ſoone as the King ſhall call for it, after the Commiſſions ſhall be iſſued under the Great Seale. In this Number are not to be reckoned the Houſes of the Subſcribers, or thoſe that ſhall attend them.

	Horſe.		Horſe.
THe Prince.	200.	Earle of Newport.	50.
The Duke of Yorke.	120.	Lord Mowbray.	50.
Lord Keeper.	40.	Lord Willoughby.	30.
Duke of Richmond.	100.	Lord Gray of Ruthin.	10.
Lord Marqueſſe Hertford.	60.	Lord Lovelace.	40.
Lord Great Chamberlaine.	30.	Lord Paget.	30.
Earle of Cumberland.	50.	Lord Faulconbridge to come.	
Earle of Huntington.	20.	Lord Rich.	30.
Earle of Bath.	50.	Lord Pawlet.	40.
Earle of Southampton.	60.	Lord Newarke.	30.
Earle of Dorſet.	60.	Lord Mountague.	30.
Earle of Northampton.	40.	Lord Coventrey.	100.
Earle of Devonſhire.	60.	Lord Savill.	50.
Earle of Dover.	25.	Lord Mohun.	20.
Earle of Cambridge.	60.	Lord Dunſmore.	40.
Earle of Briſtoll.	60.	Lord Seymor.	20.
Earle of Weſtmerland.	20.	Lord Capell.	100.
E. of Barkſhire and L. Andover.	30.	Lord Faulkland.	20.
Earle of Monmouth.	30.	Maſter Comptroller.	20.
Earle Rivers.	30.	Maſter Secretary Nicholas.	20.
Earle of Carnarvan.	20.	Lord Chiefe Juſtice Banks.	20.

The Lord *Thanet* is not here, but one hath undertaken for 100. for him.

Sum. totall. 1695.

A Copy of a Liſt of all the Cavaliers of his Majeſties Marching Army, with the number of Captaines, in each ſeverall Regiment, and every Regiment containing about a thouſand Souldiers.

Imprimis 1. *Regiment.*

THe Earle of *Newcaſtle* Lord Generall of His Majeſties foot Forces. Lievtenant Colonell *Rich.* Sergeant Major *Babthorpe.* Captaine *Fleetwood*, Captaine *Waters*, Captaine *Hemings*, Captaine *Aſton*, Captaine *Gyles*, Captaine *Fiſher*, Captaine *Andrewes*, Captaine *Froſt.*

2. *Regiment.*

2. *Regiment.*

Collonell Lord *Taffe* an *Iriſhman*. Lievtenant Colonell, Sir *John Rodes*. Sergeant Major, *Thomas Treveere*.

Captaine *Upton*, Captaine *Hobbey*, Captaine *White*, Captaine *Hill*, Captaine *Farryer*, Captaine *Whiteacre*, Captaine *Floyd*, Captaine *Douglas*, Captine *Winter*.

3. *Regiment.*

Collonell *Haſtings*. Liev. Collonell *Langley*. Sergeant Major *Stanley*.

Captaine *Fryer*, Captaine *Venner*, Captaine *Hodges*, Captaine *Johnſon*, Captaine *Fiſher*.

4. *Regiment.*

Collonell, Sir *Thomas Glenham*. Liev. Collonell *Vaughan*. Sergeant Major *Wagſtaffe*.

Captaine *Long*, Captaine *Coney*, Captaine *Starkeley*, Captaine *Smart*, Captaine *Jackſon*.

5. *Regiment.*

Collonell, Sir *Francis Wortley*. Lievtenant Collonell *Ruſſell*, Sergeant Major *Waller*.

Captaine *Tukes*, Captaine *Stafford*, Captaine *Shelton*.

6. *Regiment.*

Lord *Grandiſon*, Lievtenant Generall. Liev. Collonell *John Digby*. Sergeant Major *Willoughby*.

Captaine *Tempeſt*, Captaine *Morgan*, Captaine *Crane*, Captaine *Muſgrave*, Captaine *Badger*, Captaine *Hillyard*, Captaine *Muggridge*.

7. *Regiment.*

Collonell *Endimion Porter*. Lievtenant Collonell *Vavaſor*. Sergeant Major *Stanhope*.

Captaine *Williams*, Captaine *Berry*, Captaine *Tiſdale*, Captaine *White*, Captaine *Owen*, Captaine *Beeſley*, Captaine *Thirlow*.

8. *Regiment.*

Colonell *Aſhburnham*, Lievtenant *Bruerton*. Serjeant Major *Carey*.

Captaine *Huet*, Captaine *Fowler*, Captaine *Ridgley*, Captaine *Waſoer*, Captaine *Bowen*, Captaine *Ballard*, Captaine *Weeks*.

9. *Regiment.*

Colonell *Bellaſis*, Lievtenant Colonell *Murrey*, Sergeant Major *Pope*.

Captaine *Holloway*, Captaine *Legge*, Captaine *Withers*, Captaine *Hodges*, Captaine *Homer*, Captaine *Metoo*, Captaine *Barret*.

Commiſſary *Wilmot*, Muſter-Maſter Generall, one Troop of Horſe.

Secretary *Nicholas*. Secretary of State, one Troop of Horſe.

Maſter *Sidenham*, Knight Marſhall, one Troope of Horſe.

10. *Regiment.*

Viſcount *Killmurrey*, Sergeant Major Generall, Liev. Colonell Sir *Faithfull Forteſcue*, Sergeant Major *Pollard*.

Captaine *Bulhead*, Captaine *Prowſe*, Captaine *Thomas*, Captaine *Cokesfoote*, Captaine *Atkinſon*, Captaine *Bateman*, Captaine *Denby*.

11. *Regiment.*

Sir *Lewis Dives*, Colonell. Liev. Colonel *Lucy*, Sergeant Major *Withrington*.

Captaine *Browne*, Captaine *Thomas Furbuſh*, Captaine *Ley*, Captaine *Johnſon*, Captaine *Slingsby*.

12. *Regiment.*

Colonell Sir *Charles Lucas*. Liev. Colonell *Stanley*, Sergeant Major *Kelley*.

Captaine *Hodges*, Captaine *Ford*, Captaine *Burley*, Captaine *Strangeways*, Captaine *Whitcaway*.

13. *Regiment.*

Colonell Sir *George Gotherick*, Lievtenant Colonell *Waſhington*. Sergeant Major *Powell*.

Captaine *Iſaack*, Captaine *Johnſon*, Captaine *Lever*, Captaine *Burrowes*, Captaine *Sutton*.

14. *Regiment.*

Colonell *Osborne*. Liev. Colonell *Savage*. Sergeant Major *Oneale*.

Captaine *Forſter*, Captaine *Vaux*, Captaine *Holyday*, Captaine *Huſſey*, Captaine *Buttler*, Captaine *Jones*, Captaine *Fidler*.

Prince *Robert* Generall of the Horſe, Sir *Thomas Byron* chiefe Commander of the Princes Troope, containing about 500. Horſe. The Earle of Briſtoll two Troops. The Earle of Crawford three Troops. The Lord *Digby*, two Troops. Lord *Capell*, two Troops. The Lord *Willoughby* two Troops. The Lord *Grandiſon*, Lord *Killmurrey*, Lord *Rich*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Gothericke*, Sir *Francis Wortley*, each of them a Troop of Horſe; Beſides a foot Regiment. Sir *John Byron*, one Troope of Horſe.

I have omitted the Earle of Cumberland his Horſe and foot, The Marqueſſe Hertfords Horſe and foot, The Earle of Darbies Horſe and foot, which is at the leaſt, 16000.

None of which have been as yet with His Majeſtie, ſo that in all parts His Majeſties Army of Horſe and Foot is ſuppoſed to be 40000. Souldiers.

THE

THE LIST OF THE ARMIE.

Officers generall of the Field.

HIS Excellency ROBERT Earle of Eſſex, Captaine Generall.
Philip Skippon, Serjeant Major Generall, and Preſident of the Councell of Warre.
Captaine *James Seigneur* Provoſt Marſhall Generall.
Thomas Richardſon Carriage Maſter Generall.

Officers of the Lord Generalls Train.

Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* Knight, Treaſurer at Warres.
Lionell Copley Eſquire, Muſter-Maſter Generall.
Doctour *Iſaack Doriſla*, Advocate of the Army.
Henry Parker Eſquire, Secretary to the Army.
Robert Chambers, Auditor of the Army.

Officers Generall of the Horſe.

WILLIAM Earle of Bedford, Lord Generall.
Sir *William Belfoore* Knight, Lievtenant Generall.
John Dulbeir, Quarter-Maſter Generall.
Sir *Edward Dodſworth*, Commiſſary for the Horſe.
John Ward, Commiſſary for the Proviſions.
John Baldwine, Provoſt Marſhall Generall.

A Liſt of the Train of Artillery.

JOHN Earle of *Peterborough*, Generall of the Ordnance.
Philibert Emanuel de Boyes, Lievtenant Generall of the Ordnance.
Nicholas Cooke, an Aſſiſtant to the Lievtenant of the Ordnance.
Alexander Forboys, a Surveyor or Comptroller.
John Lyon, an Engineer.
Six other Engineers Aſſiſtants.

George

George Vernon, *John Phipps*. } two Commiſſaries of the Ordnance, Materialls, and Ammunition.

A Commiſſary to diſtribute Victualls.

Captaine *Peter Cannon*, a Purveyor Generall, both for Munition and all other neceſſaries belonging to the Ordnance.

Eighteen Gentlemen of the Ordnance.

1. *Tho. Holyman.*
2. *Robert Barbar.*
3. *Patrick Strelley.*
4. *Adward Waſe.*
5. *Anthony Heyford.*
6. *Robert Bower.*
7. *Henry Edſon.*
8. *James Francklin.*
9. *Richard Honey.*
10. *Joſhua Sing.*
11. *George Ranſom.*
12. *Samuell Barry.*
13. *Daniell Barwick.*
14. *Tho. Rawſon.*
15. *Tho. Sippence.*
16. *Tho. Croſſe.*
17. *Tho. Ayres.*
18. *William Hickſon.*

John Fowke, a Maſter of the Carriages, or Waggon-Maſter for the Artillery.

Wil. Crawley, a principall Conductor of the Train of Artillery for the Draught-Horſes and Ammunition.

Edward Weſt, a Commiſſary of the Train of Artillery for the draught-Horſes.

George Wentworth, a Quarter-Maſter of the Traine of Artillery.

Edward Frodſham, *Henry Roe*, *John Dungan*. } three Captaines to 600. Pyoners.

Gerard Wright, *Benjamin Hodſon*, *Tho. Williams*. } three Lievtenants to 600. Pioners.

Lancelet Honiburne, Maſter-Gunner.

Chriſtopher Troughton, Provoſt-Marſhall of the Artillery.

Edward Okely, a Battery-Maſter.

Joakim Hane, Fire-worker and Petardier.

William Roberts, Fire-worker and Petardier.

Harman Browning, a Bridge-Maſter for the Traine of Artillery.

Jo. Herdine, an Aſſiſtant unto him.

Lievtenant Generall *De Boys* Captaine of 100 Fire-locks.

Rich. Price, Lievtenant to Captaine *De Boys*.

The

The Liſt of the ſeverall Regiments of Foot and Horſe.

His Excellencies *Regiment.*

Captaines.	*Lievtenants.*	*Enſignes.*
Colonell his Excellency.		John Lloyd.
Liev. Col. W. Davies.	John Rainsford.	Jenkin Song.
Ser. M. Jo. Barnfield.	Fulk Musket.	
Sir Antho. St. John.	Hugh Juſtice.	Edw. Cockram.
Chr. Mathias.	Wal. Reed.	Will. Bowen.
Jo. Skrimpſhiere,	Geo. Clarke.	
Tho. Skinner.	Alex. Edwards.	Jo. Johnſon.
Roger Bettridge.	Jo. Cracroft.	Tho. Haſtings.
Tho. Ward.	Tho. Lanford.	Andr. Ward.
Edw. Leventhorp.	Hen. Stevens.	Hugh Harding.

Sir Philip Stapleton *Captain of* 100. *Curaſſiers for his Excellencies Guard,* Adam Baynard *Lievtenant,* Paul Greſham *Quarter-Maſter, Captain* Nathaniel Draper *Captain to the Generals Troop of* 50. *Carbines,* John Strelley *Cornet,* Abraham Carter *Quarter-Maſter.*

Fire-Locks.

Captains. Robert Turner, Ambroſe Tindall, Nicholas Devereux.
Phyſitian to the Train and Perſon, Doctor John Saint John.
Chirurgion to the Traine and Perſon, Lawr. Lowe.
Chirurgion to the Regiment, William Parkes.
Livetenants, Uſeus Martery, Nich. Halfold, Tho. Lawrence.
Carriage-Maſter, William Wren. *Chaplain,* Stey. Marſhall.
Chaplain for the Regiment of Horſe, Doctor Burges.

Sir John Merricks *Regiment.*

Col. Sir Joh. Metrick. *L. C.* Vincent Kilmady. *Ser. M.* Will. Herbert,
Captains. Tyer, Lower, Fran. Merrick. Tho. Lawherne, John Lloyd, John Edwards, John Baily. *Proveſt Marſhall,* John Treme.
Chaplain, Tucker. *Chirurgion,* John Woodward.

The Earle of Peterboroughs *Regiment.*

Col. Jo. E. of Peterborow, *L. C.* Sir faithf. Forteſcue, *S. M.* Francis Fairfax.
Captains, Sir Edw. Payton, Phil. Dutton, Bevill Prideaux, Robert Knightley, Jo. Butler. Hen. Lovell. Geo. Blunt.
Lievtenants. Geo. Rouſe, Rich. Orfice, Jo. Rice, Wil. Thorp. Hen. Caſe, Ornall Fountain, Tho. Treiſt. Jo. Balſtone, Geo. Hartridge, Jam. Grimes.

Enſigns. Goldsborow, John Apew, Alex. Thory, Jo. Bridges, Jam. Harriſon, Bevill Cruttenden. Rich. Lidcoat Tho. Laharn. Jo. Pew. Cha. Harrow.

The Earle of STAMFORDS *Regiment.*

Col. Hen. E. of Stamford, *Liev. Col.* Edw. Maſſie. *Ser. M.* Conſt. Feyer. *Captains.* Tho. Savill, Edw. Gray, Charles Blunt, Peter Criſpe, Iſaac Dobſon, Arnold Cosbie, Jo. Bird. *Quarter-Maſter,* Ferdinando Gray. *Carriage-Maſter,* Rich. Phillips. *Lievtenants.* John Clifton, James Harcus, William Hewet, William White, James Bock, Robert Hampſon. Jo. Hemens, Nath. Tapper, Robert Mallery, Hen. Cantrell. *Chirurgion.* Jo. Rice. *Enſigns.* John Chambers, Jo. Starkey, Tho. Griffin, William Pincock, James Gray, Hen. Collingwood, Tho. Barnes, James Baker, Laur. Clifton. *Provoſt Marſhall,* Robert Powell.

The Lord SAYES *Regiment.*

Col. William Lord Say, *L. C.* Geo. Hutchinſon, *Ser. M.* Ja. Atchaſon. *Captains.* Geo. Marrow, Chriſto. Burgh, Jam. Temple, Walter Lloyd, Morgan Tinne, Robert Blowe, Buſſy Baſſet. *Quarter-Maſter,* Hum. Du. *Lievtenants.* John Rainsford, Luke Weekins, Jam. Hannam. Hoare, Langford, Tho. Haynes, Wil. Howard, Jon. Newcomin, Edw. Carwardine. *Enſigns.* John Butcherfield, Joſeph Farnes, Jo. Kelly, Corby. Ben. Lee, Tho. Golledge, Gittings, Tho. Sweeper, Prue Prideaux.

The Lord WHARTONS *Regiment.*

C. Phil. L. Wharton, *Liev. Col.* Jer. Horton, *Ser. Ma.* Owen Parry. *Captains.* Robert Long, Henry Carew, Jude Leigh, Henry Skipwith, Chr. Baily, Gibbons, Elias Struce. *Provoſt Marſhall,* George Higham. *Lievtenants.* Ch Holcroft, Fr. Fitſhues, Edw. Browne, Tho. Albany, Wil. Browne, Will. Bridges, George Uſher, William Emerſon, Anthony Maſham, Iſaac Turney. *Chirurgion,* Jo. Broughton.

Enſignes. Blake, Tho. Radford, Robert Hughes, Roger Moore, Wil. Heydon, Edw Horton, Jo. Garret, Jer. Gardiner, Rich. Bland, Edw. Horton.

The Lord ROCHFORDS *Regiment.*

Col. Lord Rochford, *Liev. C.* Ed. Aldrich, *Ser. Ma.* Tho. Leighton. *Captains.* Tho. Drake, George Walſh, Philip Ballard, Benjamin Hooke, Fran. Hudſon, Jaſper Brand, Geo. Willoughby.

Quarter-Maſter, Miles Dobſon. *Chaplain,* Jo. Page.

Lievtenants. Jo. Norſhip, William Shawe, Edw. Deering, Walter Bradley, Ralph Carter, Edw. Melſon, Jo. Sheppard, Matth. Stoaker, Humphry Dimock, Miles Aſhton. *Provoſt Marſhall,* Jo. Burbeck.

Enſigns.

Enſignes. Henry Newdigate, Mount Sanders, Jeffery Lloyd, Peter Blewin, Edw. Lovell, George Burrell, William Williams, Hen. Smith, Jo. Bramſton. *Carriage-Maſter.* Jo. Poore.

The Lord SAINT-JOHNS *Regiment.*

Col. Oliver L. St. John, *Liev. Col.* Tho. Eſſex, *Ser. Ma.* Ed. Andrews. *Captains.* Timo. Neale, Oliver Beecher, Jo. Harvie, Lewis Pemberton, Tho. Miles, Jo. Hilderſon, Tho. Thorogood. *Carriage-Maſter,* Tho. Greene. *Quarter-Maſter,* William Walwin. *Lieutenants.* Theo. Paholigus, Will. Boughty, William Caſie, Joſ. Sears, Lyon Pilkington, Tho. Bedealls, Edw. Carew, Rich. More, John Wood, Wendy Oxford. *Proveſt Marſhall,* Robert Lucas. *Chaplain,* Jo. Vinter. *Enſignes.* Jo. Marſhall, Tho. Joy, Edw. Gravenor, Geo. Elliot, Lewis Mordent, Noah Neale, Hen. Tayler, Joſ. Scarbrough, Ric. Parker. Hen. Lovell. *Chirurgion,* William Roberts.

The Lord BROOKS *Regiment.*

Col. The Lord Brook, *Liev. Col.* Sir Edw. Peto, *S. M.* Wal. Ailworth. *Captaines.* Tho. Fitch, Jo. Lilborne, Ralph Cotsforth, Tho. Hickman, Nicho. Warren, Sambridge, John Bridges. *Waggon-Maſter,* John Smith. *Quarter-Maſter,* John Hunt. *Lieutenants.* John Aſhfield, Chriſt. Langton, Daniel Hinton, Nich. Ling, John Matterſey, Jo. Morris, Roger Cotterell, John Gates, Wivell, William Bridges. *Proveſt Marſhall,* William Coleman. *Enſignes.* John Davis, John Warren, Tho. Roberts, William Taton, Tho. Hinde, Hum. Lyeathcock, Jo. Peto, Tho. Ginnings, Cotton, Eggleſton. *Chirurgion,* John Cleare.

The Lord MANDEVILES *Regiment.*

Col. Hen. L. Mandevill, *L. Col.* Jo. Parkinſon, *Ser. Ma.* John Drake. *Captaines.* Fran. Wilſon, Hen. Samerſter, Edw. Watts, Robert Goodwin, Robert Palmer, Dan. Redman, Osborn Williams. *Proveſt-Marſhall,* John Turner. *Carriage-Maſter,* Robert Ousby. *Lieutenants.* Turkington, John Hoskins, Roger Whetſtone, Fran. Ballard, Hen. Worth, Io. Roſe, Bridges Buſhell, Nich. Dibdale, Hugh Beeſton, James Blodwell. *Chaplain,* Simon Aſh. *Quarter-Maſter,* Nich. Wood. *Enſignes.* Jaſper Goodwin, Nath. Walmſly, Tho. Davies, Io. Ramſey, Cha. Davies, Tho. Goodwin, Math. Milbourn, Fleming, John Daily. *Chirurgion,* William Stannard.

The Lord ROBERTS *his Regiment.*

Col. John L. Roberts. *L. Col.* Will. Hunter. *Ser. M.* Alex. Hurry.
Captaines. James Witcherly, Io. Walker, Io. Mercer, Mark Grime, John Mill, Ionath. Elliot. Iam. Fookes.
Quarter-Maſter, William Rawlins. *Provoſt Marſhall,* Hum. Franouth.
Lievtenants, Geo. Graden, Tho. Keckwick, Rich. Baron, Walter Heys, Jo. Melvin, Tho. Turrell, Barnard Smelomb. Io. Spooner, Dan. Trevor.
Carriage-Maſter, Thom. Higgins. *Chaplain,* Dr. Calibut Downing.
Enſignes. Tho. Rouſe, William Hender, Alex. Tulidaffe, Cuthbert Farley, Joſ. Normington, Iohn Skudamore, Mark Grimes, Edw. Genings, Ben. Groome, Iohn Merrick. *Chirurgion,* Edw. Cooke.

Colonell CHOLMLIES *Regiment.*

Col. Sir Hen. Cholmly. *L. Col.* Launce Alured. *Ser. M.* Th. Southcot.
Captaines. Henry Ienkins, William Bateler, Henry Katcofe, Goddard Leigh, Richard Jones, Robert Hunt, Iohn Bury.
Provoſt Marſhall, Nicholas Garth.
Lievtenants. Mich. Jobſon, Mich. Dane, William Wellin, George Fulwood, Io. Shanke, Io. Fiſher, Andrewes, Goodwin, Smith Wilkinſon.
Chaplain, Adoniram Bifield.
Enſignes. Hugh Philips, George Rotheram, Hen. Burkſley. Tho. Apleby. William Weſt, Barth. Burrell, Herald Skrimſhaw.

Colonell HOLLIS *his Regiment.*

Col. Denzell Hollis. *L. C.* Hen. Billingſley, *Ser. Maj.* Jam. Quarls.
Captaines. Allen Povey, William Barke, Richard Lacy, George Harlock, Jo. Francis, William Burles, Bennet.
Lievtenants. Rich. Parker, Jo. Court, Geo. Hampſon, Roger Noard, Io. Owen, Tho Lawrence, Samuel, Tho. Churchman.
Enſignes. Ralph Walſet, Rawley Willis, Edw. Neve. Tho. Cattonil, Robert Willoughby, Tho. Clement, Alexander Payard.

Colonell BAMFIELDS *Regiment.*

Col. William Bamfield, *L. C.* Sir Ro. Wingfield, *Ser. Ma.* Sam. Price.
Captaines. Rob. Baker, Rich. Benſon, Io. Ieſop, Io. Minſhaw, Wil. Owen, Tho. Stafforton, Pawlet. *Chaplain,* Freeman, *Chirurgion,* Rich. Searle.
Lievtenants. Io. Harris, Ambr. Cade, Ralph Garth, Tho. Durdo, Tho. Latimer, Hogan Rookwood, Hum. Burton, Albion Derickbore, He. Wray, Andrew Ball. *Quarter-maſter,* Chri. Allanſon. *Carriage-maſt.* He. Beecher.
Enſignes. Samſon Manaton, George Wingfield, Sym. Giggins, Io. Roſe, Io. Browne,

Io. Browne, William Blake, Richard Jackſon, Io. Price, Fra. Barber, Tho. Hudſon. *Provoſt Marſhall*, Richard Gray.

Colonell GRANTHAMS *Regiment.*

Col. Tho. Grantham, *Liev.* C. Fran Clarke. *Ser. Ma.* Io. Holman. *Captaines.* Hen. Aſhley, Sir Tho. Pigot, Rich. Gibbs, Tho. Rogers, Fran. Grantham, Geo. Slatford, Hen. Blundell. *Quarter-maſt.* H. Throckmorton. *Lievtenants.* Francis Gray, Edw. Tetlow, Iſaac Challys, Thomas Lee, Steph. Deane, Edw. Apſeley, Io. Blanden, Miles Hitchcock, Geo. Walter, Tho. Sparrow. *Provoſt Marſhall*, Robert Gibbons. *Enſignes.* Nethermill Garrard, Tho. Browne, Tho. Coo, Geo. Langford. Io. Middleton, Henry Gurney, Sheldon Napper, Iob Throckmorton, Ben. Betſworth, Tho. Blundell. *Carriage-maſter*, Io. Hopkinſon.

Sir WILLIAM CONSTABLES *Regiment.*

Col. Sir W. Conſtable, *Liev.* C. Rob. Grain, *Ser. M.* He. Frodſham. *Captaines.* Tho. Eure, Iam. Breckham. Io. Fenwick, Simon Needham, Ben. Cicill, Humph. Jones, Iam. Gray. *Provoſt Marſhall*, Iohn Yarner. *Carriage-Maſter*, Caleb Love-joy. *Lievtenants.* Edm. Hackluit. Io. Linch, Sumner, Io. Dugdale, Tho. Compton, Hen. Pownall. Tho. Beſt, Iacob Stringer, Courtop, Ro. Harvie. *Chirurgion*, Nath. Harris. *Chaplain*, William Sedgwick. *Enſignes.* Joſeph Smith, William Knight, William Miller, Arthur Young, Liſter, Arth. Pargiter, Harecourt, Iohn Gorge, Tho. Roe, Moſes Neale. *Quarter-maſter*, William Bradford.

Colonell BALLARDS *Regiment.*

Col. Tho. Ballard, *Liev. C.* Fran. Martin, *Ser. Ma.* Wil. Lower. *Captaines.* Tho. Middleton, Fran. Foukes *ſen.* Edward Allen, Edw. Primroſe, Pet. Momford. Io. Browne, Rob. Noyes. *Quarter-maſt.* Io. Lamſdie. *Lievtenants.* Leon. Moreton, Io. Hughes, Dan. Redman, Iohn Lookar, Fran. Fowke *jun.* Fran. Bowyler, Edw. Norbury, Robert Davies, Tho. Brandy. *Waggon-maſter*, Jere. Burleigh. *Enſignes.* Hen. Collingwood, William Fowles, Cha. Parker, Robert Purpell, Henry Higgins, Tho. Axſtell, Io. Hardy, Edw. Wett, William Ogee, William Garfoot. *Provoſt Marſhall*, Ben. Ludlow.

Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX *his Regiment.*

Col. Sir William Fairfax, *L. Col.* Will. Monings, *Ser. Ma.* Jarvis Paine. *Captaines.* Francis Rogers, Edward Ondingſell, Thomas Ruſh, Michael

The Lord ROBERTS *his Regiment.*

Col. John L. Roberts. *L. Col.* Will. Hunter. *Ser. M.* Alex. Hurry.
Captaines. James Witcherly, Io. Walker, Io. Mercer, Mark Grime, John Mill, Ionath. Elliot. Iam. Fookes.
Quarter-Maſter, William Rawlins. *Provoſt Marſhall,* Hum. Franouth.
Lievtenants, Geo. Graden, Tho. Keckwick, Rich. Baron, Walter Heys, Jo. Melvin, Tho. Turrell, Barnard Smelomb. Io. Spooner, Dan. Trevor.
Carriage-Maſter. Thom. Higgins. *Chaplain,* Dr. Calibut Downing.
Enſignes. Tho. Rouſe, William Hender, Alex. Tulidaffe, Cuthbert Farley, Ioſ. Normington, Iohn Skudamore, Mark Grimes, Edw. Genings, Ben. Groome, Iohn Merrick. *Chirurgion,* Edw. Cooke.

Colonell CHOLMLIES *Regiment.*

Col. Sir Hen. Cholmly. *L. Col.* Launce Alured. *Ser. M.* Th. Southcot.
Captaines. Henry Ienkins, William Bateler, Henry Katcoſe, Goddard Leigh, Richard Jones, Robert Hunt, Iohn Bury.
Provoſt Marſhall, Nicholas Garth.
Lievtenants. Mich. Jobſon, Mich. Dane, William Wellin, George Fulwood, Io. Shanke, Io. Fiſher, Andrewes, Goodwin, Smith Wilkinſon.
Chaplain, Adoniram Bifield.
Enſignes. Hugh Philips, George Rotheram, Hen. Burkſley. Tho. Apleby. William Weſt, Barth. Burrell, Herald Skrimſhaw.

Colonell HOLLIS *his Regiment.*

Col. Denzell Hollis. *L. C.* Hen. Billingſley, *Ser. Maj.* Jam. Quarls.
Captaines. Allen Povey, William Barke, Richard Lacy, George Harlock, Jo. Francis, William Burles, Bennet.
Lievtenants. Rich. Parker, Jo. Court, Geo. Hampſon, Roger Noard, Io. Owen, Tho Lawrence, Samuel, Tho. Churchman.
Enſignes. Ralph Walſet, Rawley Willis, Edw. Neve. Tho. Cattorill, Robert Willoughby, Tho. Clement, Alexander Payard.

Colonell BAMFIELDS *Regiment.*

Col. William Bamfield, *L. C.* Sir Ro. Wingfield, *Ser. Ma.* Sam. Price.
Captaines. Rob. Baker, Rich. Benſon, Io. Ieſop, Io. Minſhaw, Wil. Owen, Tho. Stafforton, Pawlet. *Chaplain,* Freeman, *Chirurgion,* Rich. Searle.
Lievtenants. Io. Har[illegible], Ambr. Cade, Ralph Garth, Tho. Durdo, Tho. Latimer, Hogan Rookwood, Hum. Burton, Albion Derickbore, He. Wray, Andrew Ball. *Quarter-maſter,* Chri. Allanſon. *Carriage-maſt.* He. Beecher.
Enſignes. Samſon Manaton, George Wingfield, Sym. Giggins, Io. Roſe, Io. Browne,

Io. Browne, William Blake, Richard Jackſon, Io. Price, Fra. Barber, Tho. Hudſon. *Provoſt Marſhall*, Richard Gray.

Colonell GRANTHAMS *Regiment.*

Col. Tho. Grantham, *Liev.* C. Fran Clarke. *Ser. Ma.* Io. Holman.
Captaines. Hen. Aſhley, Sir Tho. Pigot, Rich. Gibbs, Tho. Rogers, Fran. Grantham, Geo. Slatford, Hen. Blundell. *Quarter-maſt.* H. Throckmorton.
Lievtenants. Francis Gray, Edw. Tetlow, Iſaac Challys, Thomas Lee, Steph. Deane, Edw. Apſeley, Io. Blanden, Miles Hitchcock, Geo. Walter, Tho. Sparrow. *Provoſt Marſhall*, Robert Gibbons.
Enſignes. Nethermill Garrard, Tho. Browne, Tho. Coo, Geo. Langford. Io. Middleton, Henry Gurney, Sheldon Napper, Iob Throckmorton, Ben. Betſworth, Tho. Blundell. *Carriage-maſter*, Io. Hopkinſon.

Sir WILLIAM CONSTABLES *Regiment.*

Col. Sir W. Conſtable, *Liev.* C. Rob. Grain, *Ser. M.* He. Frodſham.
Captaines. Tho. Eure, Iam. Breckham. Io. Fenwick, Simon Needham, Ben. Cicill, Humph. Jones, Iam. Gray.
Provoſt Marſhall, Iohn Yarner. *Carriage-Maſter*, Caleb Love-joy.
Lievtenants. Edm. Hackluit. Io. Linch, Sumner, Io. Dugdale, Tho. Compton, Hen. Pownall. Tho. Beſt, Iacob Stringer, Courtop, Ro. Harvie.
Chirurgion, Nath. Harris. *Chaplain*, William Sedgwick.
Enſignes. Joſeph Smith, William Knight, William Miller, Arthur Young, Liſter, Arth. Pargiter, Harecourt, Iohn Gorge, Tho. Roe, Moſes Neale.
Quarter-maſter, William Bradford.

Colonell BALLARDS *Regiment.*

Col. Tho. Ballard, *Liev. C.* Fran. Martin, *Ser. Ma.* Wil. Lower.
Captaines. Tho. Middleton, Fran. Foukes *ſen.* Edward Allen, Edw. Primroſe, Pet. Momford. Io. Browne, Rob. Noyes. *Quarter-maſt.* Io. Lamſdie.
Lievtenants. Leon. Moreton, Io. Hughes, Dan. Redman, Iohn Lookar, Fran. Fowke *jun.* Fran. Bowyler, Edw. Norbury, Robert Davies. Tho. Brandy. *Waggon-maſter*, Jere. Burleigh.
Enſignes. Hen. Collingwood. William Fowles, Cha. Parker, Robert Purpell, Henry Higgins. Tho. Axſtell, Io. Hardy, Edw. Wett, William Ogee, William Garfoot. *Provoſt Marſhall*, Ben. Ludlow.

Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX *his Regiment.*

Col. Sir William Fairfax, *L. Col.* Will. Monings, *Ser. Ma.* Jarvis Paine.
Captaines. Francis Rogers, Edward Ondingſell, Thomas Ruſh, Michael

 Bland,

Bland, Robert Wilſhiere, Leighton, William Trunke.
Quarter-Maſter, Thomas Tyrer. *Chirurgion*, James Winter.
Lievtenants. David Goldſmith, Thomas Whitney, George Tirwhit, John Caldecott, William France, Thomas Rutton, Francis Bland, George Gifford, William Llewellin, Iohn Foſter. *Provoſt Marſhall*, Henry Fiſher.
Enſignes. Iohn Read, Atwell Needham, Iohn Lloyd, Richard Adams, Richard Upton, Edward Otter, Iames Sleigh, Io. White, Theophilus Willey, Samuel Kenarick. *Carriage-Maſter*, Henry Ward.

Colonell CHARLES ESSEX *his Regiment.*

Col. Charles Eſſex. *L.* C. Adam Coningham, *Ser. Ma.*
Captaines. William Roberts, Jo. Ienkins, Francis Hall, William Frederick, Io. Haſelwood, Samuel Lotus, Sir Wil. Eſſex. *Quarter-maſt.* Rog. Waſe.
Lievtenants. Francis Hall, Edward Barnewell, Iames Webb, Ralph Williams, Barth. Elliot, Walraven Hemert, Chriſtoph. Crow, Chriſtoph. Chidley, Iames Burrell, Daniel Robinſon. *Chaplain*, Samuel Wells.
Enſignes. Io. Shipman, Leonard Hawkins, Io. Wheeler, Io. Watkins, Tracey Smart, Io. Withers, William Stratford, Thomas Fitz, Rob. Shergall, Rich. Thornehill. *Provoſt Mar.* Martin Benthin. *Chirurgion*, Io. Browne.

Colonell JOHN HAMBDEN *his Regiment.*

Col. Iohn Hambden, *Liev.* C. Wagſtaff. *Ser. Ma.* Will. Barriff.
Captaines. Richard Ingoldesbe, Nicholls, Arnett, John Stiles, Raymant, Robert Farrington, Morris.
Lievtenants. Henry Iſham, A Dutchman, Shorter.
Enſignes. Edward Willet, Laurence Almot. *Chaplain*, William Spurſtow.

How the number of Souldiers in each Regiment of Foot are divided under their ſeverall Captaines.

THe Colonells company 200. The Lievtenant Colonells company 160. The Serjeant Majors company 140. Seven Captaines 700.
Every Regiment conſiſts of 1200. Beſides Officers.

The Names of the Counſell of Warre.

SIr *John Mericke*, Preſident. Sir *William Belfore*, Lievtenant-Generall of the Horſe. Colonell *Wardlaw*. Colonell *Grantham*. Sir *William Conſtable*. *Philibert Emmanuel de Boyſe*, Lievtenant Generall of the Artillery. Doctor *Iſaac Doriſla*, Advocate of the Army.

The

The Liſt of the Troops of Horſe, under the Command of WILLIAM Earle of BEDFORD: Each Troop conſiſting of 60 *Horſe*; *beſides* 2 *Trumpeters*, 3 *Corporalls*, *a Sadler*, *and a Farrier*.

Colonells and their Officers.

COlonell, *William* Earle of *Bedford*. Major. Chirurgion, *Hugh Ward*.
Colonell, Sir *Wil. Belfore*. Major, *Jo. Urrey*. Chirurg. *James Swright*.
Colonell, *Bazill* Lord *Fielding*, Major, *Robert Beckill*.
Colonell, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*.
Colonell, Sir *William Waller*. Major, *Horatio Carew*, Chirur. *James Bricknell*.
Colonell, *Edwin Sands*, Major, *Alex. Douglas*. Chirurgion, *John Anthony*.

1. *Troop*. The Lord Generalls. *Lieu*. W. Anſell. *Cornet*, John Palmer.
2. C. Sir W. Belfore, *L*. John Meldram. *C*. William Jewty.
3. C. L. Grey, *Gronv*: *L*. Sim. Matthews. *C*. Th Barington. *Q*. Da. Madox.
4. C. Earle of *Peterb*. *L*. Herb. Dlauſherd. *C*. Will. Cheney.
5. C. Lord Say. L. Hen. Atkinſon. *C*. John Croker, *Q*. Robert Parin.
6. C. Lord Brooke. L. Richard Croſſe. *C*. Rob Lilbourne, *Q*. Jo. Okey.
7. C. L. Haſtings. *L*. Tho. Gratwick, *C*. Hen. Ayſluye, *Q*. Tho. Meſham.
8. C. L. St. John, L. Marmad. Couper, *C*. Oliver Cromwell. *Q*. W. Wallen.
9. C. L. Stanford, L. Samuel Boſa, *C*. Cap. Ric. Bingley, *Q*. Tho. Vaves.
10. C. L. Fielding, L. Reeve Bayley. *C*. Tho. Brudnell, *Q*. William Tovey.
11. C. L. Whatton, *L*. Ralph Whiſtler, *C*. Peter Ware, *Q*. Nich. Battersby.
12. C. Lord Willoughby of P. *L*. Hum. Brookbank, *C*. Tho. Hickman.
13. C. Lord Grey. *Q*. Madox.
14. C. Jam. Sheffeld, *L*. Tho. Jewks, *C*. Rich. Maunder, *Q*. Rich. Iolly.
15. Sir W: Waller, *L*. Ric: Newdigate, *C*. Foulke Grevill, *Q*. Fran: Grey.
16. C. John Gunter, *L*. Hen. Strelly, *C*. James Godderd, *Q*. Edw. Pudſey.
17. C. Wil: Pretty, *L*. Mat: Ploughman, *C*. Miles Morgan, *Q*. Nich. Smith.
18. Rob: Burrell, *L*. John Greene, *C*. Nathaniel Weſt, *Q*. Thomas Elliot.
19. C. Francis Dowett, *L*. Hen. Saderſon, C. Tho. Gore. *Q*. John Otter.
20. C. Iames Temple, L. William Baker, *C*. Carax Ling. *Q*. Fran: Sharpe.
21. C. Iohn Bird, L. Samuel Boſa, *C*. Ambr. Rooke, *Q*. Jonathan Finch.
22. C. Mathew Draper, *C*. John Strelly, *Q*. Abraham Carter.
23. C. Dimock.
24. C. Horatio Carey, L. Jonas Vandruſick, *C*. George Hutton.
25. C. Iohn Alured.
26. C. Iohn Neale, L. Rob: Bruſe.
27. C. Iohn Hamond, C. William Gill. *Q*. Iſack Cavaler.
28. C. Ed: Ayſcough, L. Thomas Moſley, *C*. Sayer, *Q*. Clarke.
29. C. Alex: Pym L. Arnold Haward, *C*. Ric: Compton, *Q*. Ralph Romitree.
30. C. Iohn Hotham.

31. C. Arthur

31. C. Arthur Evelin, *L.* C. John de la Hay.
32. C. Geo: Thompſon, *L.* John Coſhe, *C.* Iohn Upton, *Q.* Will. Couſe.
33. C. Edwin Sandys, *L.* John Cockaine.
34 C. Anth: Milemay, *L.* Hen: Hatcher, *C.* Sam: Coſworth, *Q.* Th. Varnon.
35 C. Ed: Kyghley, *L.* W: Cooker, *C.* Tho. Lottus, *Q.* Alex: Wincheſter.
36. C. Nath: Fines.
37. C. Edw: Berry, *L.* C. Ed: Saunders, *C.* Tho. Billiard, *Q.* Hen: Woodnoth.
38. C. Alex: Douglas.
39. C. Tho. Lidcott, *L.* Rob: Stradling.
40. C. Tho. Hamond, *L.* John Lindſey, *C.* Mi: Wanderford.
41. C. John Dulbeir, *L.* Wil. Framton, *C.* H: Vanbraham, *Q.* Io. Downcham.
42. C. Francis Fines, L. Iames Moore, *C.* Henry Fines, *Q.* George Malten.
43. C. S. A. Haſelwrick, L. Jervis Brakey, C. Tho: Horton, *Q.* Zach: Walker.
44 C. S. Walt: Earle, L. Ed: Iohnſon, *Q.* Paul Scooler.
45. C. Jo: Fleming, L. Robert Kirle, *C.* Ed: Fleming, *Q.* B. Blackborow.
46. C. Ar: Goodwin, L. Iohn Browne, C. Peter Palmer, *Q.* William Jucey.
47. C. Rich: Grenvile, L. Cha: Fountaine, *C.* Jo: James, *Q.* Alex: Daviſon.
48. C. Tho: Terrill, L. William Spry, *C.* Ioſeph Ianes, *Q.* Ed: Throwley.
49 C. Iohn Hale, *L.* Chenie Fuller, *C.* I. Midehoope, *Q.* Michael Hale.
50. C. H. Milmay of G. *L.* Hen: Gibb, *C* Rob: Milmay, *Q.* Edm: Hadon.
51. C. Will: Balfoore, *C.* George Weſt.
52. C. George Auſtin.
53. C. Adrian Scroope, L. William Day, *C.* Max: Vetty, *Q.* Henry Nuby.
54. C. Herc: Langriſh, L. Io: Dingley, C. *J. de la Blancheur*, Q. Io: Ealſman.
55. C. Edw: Wingate, L. Tho: Evans, *C.* Hen: Daldorne, *Q.* Io: Whitebread.
56. C. Edw: Baynton.
57. C. Ch: Chicheſter, L. Jo: Hide, *C.* Edward Weeks, *Q.* Richard Gourd.
58. C. Hen: Ireton, L. Jo: de Gennis, *C.* Samuel Clarke, *Q.* Chriſt: Briſton.
59. C. Walt: Long, L. Nic: Battersby, *C.* Coniers Cooper, *Q.* Walt: Harcourt.
60. C. John Fines, L. Jo: Carmichaell, *C.* Edw: Walley, *Q.* Wil: Bugſlock.
61. C. Fr: Thompſon, L. Tho: Elliot, *C.* Vincent Corbet, *Q.* Phil: Barley.
62. C. Edmond Weſt.
63. C. Sir Robert Pie.
64. C. Thomas Hatcher.
65. C. Robert Vivers.
66. C. William Anſelme.
67. C. Oli: Cromwell, *L.* Cuth: Baildon, *C.* Joſ: Waterhouſe, *Q.* Io: Disbrow.
68. C. Robert Kirle, *L.* Ch: Fleming, *C.* Iames Kirle, *Q.* Iohn Ball.
69. C. Sir William Wray.
70. C. Wil: Pretty, *L.* Mat: Plowman, *C.* Miles Morgan, *Q.* Ant: Arundell.
71. C. Sir Io: Sanders, *L.* Wil: Wardley, *C.* Math: Pedar, *Q.* John Harding.
72. C. Thomas

72. C. Thomas Temple.
73. C. Valen: Watton, L. Jarvis Bonner, C. Watton, Q. Obadiah Crish.
74. C. Sir Faithfull Forteſcue.
75. C. Symon Rudgley, L. Lew: Chadwick, C. Edward Fines.

Dragooneers, Each Troope conſiſting of 100. Horſe, Beſides the Officers.

1. *Colonell*, and *Cap:* Jo: Browne.
Major & *Cap:* Nath: Gordon.
Sir John Browne, *Captaine*.
2. *Cap:* Robert Mewer.
Lievt: Thomas Mewer.
Cor: Nicholas Mewer.
3. *Cap:* William Bucham.
Cap: Robert Marine.
Lievt: Francis Bradbury.
Quarter-maſter, John Blackman.
Proveſt-Marſhall, Daniel Lyon.
4. *Cap:* Sir Anthony Irby.
Lievt: William Patrick.
Cor: Richard le Hunt.
5. *Colonell*, James Wandlo.
Lievt: George Dunlas.
Cap: Archibald Hambleton.
Cap: Alexander Nerne.
Cap: Iohn Barne.
Cap: Iames Stenchion.
Chirurgion, Iames Heithley.

Thoſe Officers that are not mentioned in theſe Liſts, have not as yet received their Commiſſions, by reaſon of their ſuddain imployment in the Expedition.

A true Copie of the Inſtructions agreed upon by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,

and ſent to his Excellency the Earle of *Eſſex*, Lord Generall of the Army, concerning the advancing of his *Forces towards His* MAJESTY, &c.

FIrſt you ſhall carefully reſtraine all Impieties, Prophaneneſſe, and Diſorders, Ryot, Inſolence, and Plundering in your Souldiers, as well by ſtrict and ſevere puniſhment of ſuch offences, as by all other meanes which you in your wiſedomes ſhall thinke fit.

Secondly, your Lordſhip is to march with ſuch forces as you thinke fit towards the Army, raiſed in his Majeſties Name againſt the Parliament and Kingdome, and with them, or any part of them, to fight at ſuch time and

place as you ſhall judge to conduce to the peace and ſafety of the Kingdom; And you ſhall uſe your utmoſt endevours by Battaile or otherwiſe to reſcue his Majeſties perſon, and the perſons of the Prince, and Duke of *Yorke*, out of the hands of thoſe deſperate perſons who are now about them.

Thirdly, you ſhall take an opportunitie in ſome ſafe and honourable way, to cauſe the Petition of both Houſes of Parliament herewith ſent unto you, to be preſented unto his Majeſtie, and if his Majeſtie ſhall pleaſe thereupon to withdraw himſelfe from the forces now about him, and to reſort to the Parliament, you ſhall cauſe all theſe forces to disband, and ſhall ſecure and defend his Majeſtie with a ſufficient ſtrength in his returne.

Fourthly, you ſhall publiſh and declare, that if any, who have been ſeduced by the falſe aſperſions caſt upon the proceedings of the Parliament, as to aſſiſt the King in the acting of thoſe dangerous Counſels, ſhall willingly within ten dayes after ſuch publication in the Army, returne to their dutie, not doing any hoſtile act within the time limited, and joyne themſelves with the Parliament, in defence of Religion, his Majeſties perſon, the Liberties and Lawes of the Kingdome, and priviledges of Parliament, with their perſons and Eſtates, as the Members of both Houſes, and the reſt of the Kingdome have done: That the Lords and Commons will be ready upon their ſubmiſſion to receive ſuch perſons in ſuch manner as they ſhall have cauſe to acknowledge they have been uſed with clemency and favour: Provided, that this ſhall not extend to admit any man into either Houſe of Parliament who ſtands ſuſpended, without giving ſatisfaction to the Houſe whereof he ſhall be a Member: and except all perſons who ſtand impeached, or particularly Voted in either Houſe of Parliament for any delinquency whatſoever; Excepting likewiſe ſuch Adherents of thoſe who ſtand impeached in Parliament of Treaſon, as have been eminent perſons and chiefe Actors in thoſe Treaſons; And except the Earle of *Briſtoll*, the Earle of *Cumberland*, the Earle of *New-Caſtle*, the Earle *Rivers*, Secretary *Nicholas*, Maſter *Endimion Porter*, Maſter *Edward Hide*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earle of *Carnarvan*, the Lord Viſcount *Newarke*, the Lord Viſcount *Faulkland*, being one of the principall Secretaries of State to his Majeſtie.

Fifthly, you ſhall apprehend the perſons of all theſe who ſtand impeached in Parliament, or have been declared Traytors by both or either Houſe of Parliament, or other Delinquents, and you ſhall ſend them unto the Parliament to receive condigne puniſhment according to their offences.

Sixthly, you ſhall receive the Loanes, or Contributions of Money, Plate, or Horſe from all his Majeſties loving Subjects, which they ſhall be willing to make for the ſupport of the charge of the Army, and better diſcharge of the ſervice of the Common-wealth; And you ſhall certifie all ſuch ſummes

of

of Money, and the value of ſuch Horſes, that the perſons thereupon may have the publique faith for payment to be made unto them, as to others of his Majeſties Subjects upon the ſubſcription of Money, Plate, and Horſe.

Seventhly, you ſhall carefully protect all his Majeſties loving Subjects from rapine and violence by any of the Cavaliers, or other of his Majeſties pretended Army, or by any of the Souldiers of the Army which you command; and you ſhall cauſe the Armour and Goods of any perſon to be reſtored to them from whom they have been unjuſtly taken.

Eighthly, you ſhall obſerve ſuch further Directions and Inſtructions as you from time to time receive from both Houſes of Parliament.

A Liſt of his Majeſties Navie Royall, and Merchants Ships; Their Names, Captaines, and Lievtenants, their Men and Burthens in every one, now ſetting forth for the Guard of the narrow Seas, and for IRELAND this yeare 1642.

The Kings Majeſties Ships: The Names of Captaines and Lievtenants, Ships, Men, and Burthens.

1. IN the James, *Robert* Earle of *Warwicke*, Vice-Admirall, Maſter *Slingsby* Lievtenant, 260. men, burthen 875. tun. 2. In the Saint George, *William Batten* Captaine, Maſter *William Smith* Lievtenant, 260. men, burthen 792. tun. 3. In the Raine-bow, Sir *John Meuns* Captaine, Maſter *Lutten* Lievtenant, 260 men, burthen 721. tun. 4. In the Reformation, Sir *David Murrey* Captaine, Maſter *Standsbuy* Lievtenant, 260. men, burthen 731. tun. 5. Victory, Captaine *Fogge* Captaine, Maſter *Fogge* Lievtenant, 240. men, burthen 742. tun. 6. *Hearietta Maria*, Captaine *Hatch* Captaine, Maſter *Wattes* Lievtenant, 250. men, burthen 793. tun. 7. Unicorne, Captaine *Frenchfield* Captaine, Maſter *Sommerſton* Lievtenant, 250. men, burthen 767. tun. 8. *Charles Swanley* Captaine, Maſter *Darcy* Lievtenant, 250. men, burthen 810. tun. 9. Vantguard, Captaine *Blith* Captaine, Maſter *Blith* Lievtenant, 250. men, burthen 751. tun. 10. Entrance, Captaine *Owen* Captaine, Maſter *Bowen* Lievtenant, 160. men, burthen 539. tun. 11. Garland, Captaine *Stingsby* Captaine, Maſter *Walters* Lievtenant, 170 men, burthen 767. tun. 12. Lyon, Captaine *Priſſe* Captaine, Maſter *Hill* Lievtenant, 170. men, 602. tun. 13. Antelope, Captaine *Burley* Captaine, Maſter *Willeby* Lievtenant, 160. men, burthen 512. tun. 14. Mary Roſe,

Captaine *Fox* Captaine, 100. men, burthen 321. tun. 15. Expedition, Captaine *Wake* Captaine, 100. men, burthen 301. tun. 16. Greyhound, Captaine *Wheler* Captaine, 50. men, burthen 126. tun.

Merchants Ships.

1. In the Martane, Captaine *George Martaine* Captaine, Maſter *Hakrigg* Lievtenant, 210. men, burthen 700. tun. 2. Samſon, Captaine *Aſhly* Captaine, Maſter *Andrew* Lievtenant, 180. men, burthen 600. tun. 3. Cæſar, Captaine *Elias Jorden* Captaine, Maſter *Norton* Lievtenant, 180. men, burthen 600. tun. 4. London, Captaine *John Stephens* Captaine, Maſter *Pomroy* Lievtenant, 180. men, burthen 600. tun. 5. Unicorne, Captaine *Edward Johnſon* Captaine, 143. men, burthen 475. tun. 6. Mary Flower, Captaine *Peter Andrews* Captaine, 121. men, burthen 450. tun. 7. Bonny Venter, Captaine *George Swanly* Captaine, 120. men, burthen 400. tun. 8. The Proſperous, Captaine *William Driver* Captaine, 120. men, burthen 400. tun. 9. Hurdens, Captaine *Mover* Captaine, 150 men, burthen 350. tun. 10. Paragon, Captaine *Leonard Harris* Captaine, 105. men, burthen 350. tun. 11. Hopefull Luke, Captaine *Lee* Captaine, 105. men, burthen 350. tun. 12. Golden Angell, Captaine *Walker* Captaine, 105. men, burthen 350. tun. 13. Exchange, Captaine *Lucas* Captaine, 89. men, burthen 325. tun. 14. Mayden-head, Captaine *Lewton* Captaine, 90. men, burthen 300. tun. 15. Providence, Captaine *William Swandly* Captaine, 81. men, burthen 271. tun. 16. Jocelyn, Captaine *Partridge* Captaine, 60. men, burthen 200. tun.

His Majeſties Ships for the Iriſh Seas.

1. The Swalow, Captaine *Thomas Kettley*, 150. men, 160. tun.
2. Bonny Venture, Captaine *Henry Stradling*, 160. men, 557. tun.

Merchants Ships.

1. Diſcovery, Captaine *John Brok-haven*, 144. men, 380. tun.
2. Ruth, Captaine *Robert Conſtable*, 120. men, 400. tun.
3. Employment, Captaine *Thomas Aſly*, 132. men, 440 tun.
4. Peter, Captaine *Peter Stroung*, 81. men, 270. tun.
5. Pennington, Captaine *Joſeph Jordan*, 360. men, 135. tun.
6. Fellowſhip, Captaine *Thomas Colle*, 87. men, 290. tun.
7. Mary, Captaine *William Capell*, 30. men, 103. tun.
8. John, Captaine *John Thomas*, 15. men, 50. tun.

The

The Names of the Orthodox Divines, Preſented by the Knights and Burgeſſes of ſeverall Counties, Cities, and Burroughs, as fit perſons to be conſulted with by the *Parliament*, touching the Reformation of *Church-Government* and *Liturgie*, Aprill 25. 1642.

JAmes *Archbiſhop of* Armagh. *Doctor* Stiles, *Parſon of S.* Georges *neere the Bridge, preſented by the Burgeſſes for the Univerſitie of* Oxford. *Doctor* Browntrigge, *Maſter of* Katherine Hall. *Doctor* Ward, *Maſter of* Sidney Colledge, *preſented by the Burgeſſes for the Univerſitie of* Cambridge. *Doctor* Twiſt. William Reyner, *preſented for* Berkſhire. Henry Wilkinſon. Thomas Valentine, *preſented for* Buckinghamſhire. Thomas Dillingham. Oliver Boles, *preſented for* Bedfordſhire. *Doctor* Thomas Wincope. *Maſter* Thomas Goodwyn, *preſented for* Cambridgeſhire. *Doctor* Hoyle. *Maſter* Bridges *of* Yarmouth, *preſented for* Cumberland. *Maſter* Gamon. *Maſter* John Hicks *of* Lawtick, *preſented for* Cornwall. *Doctor* Inneſton. *Maſter* William Morton, *preſented for* Durham. *Maſter* Levit *of* Rippon. *Maſter* Michlethwaite *of* Cerry Burton, *preſented for* Eboracenſ. Stephen Marſhall *of* Finchfield Obediah Sedgewick *of* Cogſhall, *preſented for* Eſſex. *Maſter* William Mewe *of* Eſtington, *B. D.* *Maſter* John Duninge *of* Coldaſton, *preſented for* Glouceſterſhire. *Maſter* John Greene *of* Pencombe. *Maſter* Stanley Gower *of* Bracton, *preſented for* Hereford. *Doctor* Smith *of* Barkway. *Doctor* Burgeſſe *of* Watertord, *preſented for* Hertfordſhire. *Maſter* Thomas Bathurſt. *Maſter* Philip Nye, *preſented for* Huntington. *Maſter* Francis Tailor. *Maſter* Wilſon *of* Otham, *preſented for* Kent. *Maſter* Edward Calamy, *of the Pariſh of* Aldermanbury. *Maſter* George Walker *of St.* Johns *Pariſh*. *Maſter* Carroll *of* Lincolnes Inne. *Maſter* Lazarus Seaman *of* Alhollowes Bredſtreete, *preſented for* London. Anthony Tuckney *of* Boſton. Thomas Coleman *of* Blyton, *preſented for* Lincolne. *Doctor* Harris *Warden of* Wincheſter Colledge. *Maſter* Morley, *preſented for* Murmouth. *Doctor* Downing *of* Hackney. *Maſter* Jeremiah Burroughes. *preſented for* Middleſex. *Maſter* Reignolds *Parſon of* Branſton. *Maſter* Hill *Parſon of* Titchmarſh, *preſented for* Northampton. *Maſter* John Jackſon *of* Grayes Inne. *Maſter* William Carter *of* London, *preſented for* Northumberland. *Maſter* Thomas Thoroughgood. *Maſter* John Arrowſmith, *preſented for* Norfolk. *Doctor* Sanderſon *of* Boothby. *Maſter* John Foxcroft *of* Gotham, *preſented for* Nottingham. *Maſter* Robert Harris *B. D. Parſon of* Hanwell. *Maſter* Robert Croſſe, *B. D. fellow of* Lincolne Colledge, *preſented for* Oxford. *Maſter* Samuel Gibſon. *Maſter* Jeremie Whitaker, *preſented for* Rutland.

Maſter Samuel Crook *of* Wranton, *B.D. Maſter* John Connant *of* Livington, *B. D. preſented for* Somerſet. *Maſter* Thomas Young *of* Stowmarket. *Maſter* John Phillips *of* Wrentham, *preſented for* Suffolke. John Langley, *Rector of* Weſtudeley. Chriſtopher Tiſdale, *Rector of* Uphusborne, *preſented for* Southampton. *Doctor* Staunton *of* Kingeſton. *Doctor* Featly *of* Lambeth, *preſented for* Surrey. *Maſter* Edward Corbet *of* Oxford, *M. of Arts. Maſter* Samuel Hilderſham, *preſented for* Salop. Francis Cook *of* Yoxhall, Clerk. John Lightfoot *of* Aſhley, Clerk, *preſented for* Stafford *Maſter* Benjamin Pickering. *Maſter* Henry Nye, *preſented for* Suſſex. *Maſter* Arth. Salway. *Doctor* Prideaux, *Biſhop of* Worceſtor, *preſented for* Wigorn. *Maſter* Henry Hall, *B. D. Maſter* Henry Hutton, *Maſter of Arts, preſented for* Weſtmerland. Henry Seuder *Rector of* Collingborne, *B. D.* Thomas Baily, *Rector of* Munningford, *B.D. preſented for* Wiltſhire. *Maſter* Burgeſſe, *Parſon of* Sutton Ulfield. *Maſter* Richard Vines, *Parſon of* Weddington, *preſented for* Warwick.

Maſter Richard Buckley, *B. D. for* Angleſey. *Doctor* Temple *of* Batterſey. *for* Brecknoc. *Maſter* Shute *of* Lumberſtreet, *for* Cardigan. *Maſter* Nicholſon, *for* Carmarthen. *Maſter* Cattarne, *for* Carnarvan. Ric. Lloide, *D. D. for* Denbigh. *Doctor* Chriſtopher Paſhley, *for* Flint. Henry Tozer, *B. D. and ſenior Fellow of* Ex. Colledge, *for* Glamorgan. *Maſter* William Spurſtoe, *for* Merioneth. *Maſter* Francis Channell, *for* Pembroke. Meedw. Ellis *Rector of* Guilsfeild, *for* Montgome. *Doct.* Hachet *for* Radnor.

Iſles of *Garnſey* and *Jerſey*. Samuel de la Place. Jo. de la March.

THe Commiſſioners of the generall Aſſembly have choſe 3 *Elders* and 6 *Miniſters* to be at this Aſſembly. The *Miniſters* are Mr. *Hinderſon*, Mr. *Douglaſſe* Mr. *Rutherfurd*, Mr. *Bayly*, Mr. *Gelaſpe*, and Mr. *Borthwicke*, who is at *London*. The *Elders* are the Earl of *Caſſells*, L. *Maitland*, & Sr *Archib. Johnſtone*.

A Liſt of the Field-Officers choſen and appointed for the *Iriſh Expedition*, by the Committee at *Guild*-Hall *London*, for the Regiments of 5000 foot and 500 horſe; Under the Command of PHILIP Lord *Wharton*, Baron of *Scarborough*, Lord Generall for *Ireland*:

Troops of Horſe.

Colonell Generalls Troop.

Captain, Ralfe Whiſtler.
Cornet, Peter Ware.
Quarter-maſter, Nicholas Battersby
Corporals, Conyers Cooper. Bartho. Johnſon. Ralph Henery.

Second Troope, Lord Broghill.

Lieutenant, John Allen.
Cornet, Cecill Aſhcough.
Quartermaſter, Tho. Hudſon.
Corporalls, Geo. Staples, Robert Bennet,

net, Thomas Allen.
Third troop, Sir Faithfull Forteſcue,
Lieutenant, Francis Dovet.
Cornet, Tho. Forteſcue.
Quarter-maſter, Jo. Coyſhe.
Corporals, Jo. Vangerich, Jo. Marſhall, Ralph Walcot.
Fourth troop, Liev. Colonel Jo. Hurry.
Lieutenant, William Mercet.
Cornet, Sedeſcue.
Quarter-maſter, Jo. Pearne.
Corporals, Ralph Vickerman, Rich. Whymper, Will. Crane.
Fifth troop, Alexander Nayrne.
Lieutenant, William Hyde.
Cornet, Marmaduke Cooper.
Quarter-maſter, Gedeon Lock.
Corporals, Nath. Walmſley, Hugh Farr, Ben. Ballard *his Enſigne*.
Sixth troop, Jo. Trenchard.
Lieutenant, Adam Baynard.
Cornet, Jo. Hyde.
Quarter-maſter, Francis Fook.
Corporals, Jo. Freake, Jo. Starkey, Tho Gwalter.
Seventh troop, William St Leger.
Lieutenant, Ed. Leventhorp.
Cornet, Skrynſheere.
Quarter-maſter, Philip Vanderhiden.
Corporals, Ed. Gray, Nicho. Phipp, Robert Wood.

Foot Companies.

Colonell Generall.
His Captain Edward Maſſy.
His Enſigne, Oliver Cromwell.
Lieutenant Colonell and Sergeant Major Generall, Jeremy Horton.
His Lieutenant, Tho. Browne.
His Enſigne, Ed. Greene.
Sergeant Major, Owen Parry.
His Lieutenant, Ed. Browne.
His Enſigne, Rob. Hughes.
Firſt Captain, Vincent Calmady.
his Lieutenant, Edward Tyler.
his Enſigne, Richard Bland.
Second Captain, Robert Long.
his Lieutenant, Tho. Allanby.
his Enſigne, Roger Moore.
Third Captain, Henry Carew.
his Lieutenant, Charles Holcroft.
his Enſigne, William Heyden.
Fourth Captain, Hen. Skipwith.
his Lieutenant, Jo. Ivey.
his Enſigne, Oliver St. John.
Fifth Cap. of Fire-Locks, Elias Struice.
his Lieutenant, Ed. Gray.
his Enſigne, Tho. Barber.

Second Colonell, Lord Kerrey.
his Lieutenant, Robert Hamond.
his Enſigne, Richard Bagot.
Lieutenant-Colonell, Henry Shelley.
his Lieutenant, Jo. Ramsford.
his Enſigne, Jo. Aſhfield.
Sergeant Major, Daniel Goodrick.
his Lieutenant, Geo. Lower.
his Enſigne, Charles Blount.
Firſt Captain, Charles Dawſon.
his Lieutenant, Philip Meautas.
his Enſigne, Jacob Stringer.
Second Captain, Herbert Blankchard.
his Lieutenant, Morgan Timney.
his Enſigne, Chriſtoph Chudleigh.
Third cap. Agmondiſham Murſchamp
his Lieutenant, Will. Dothwait.
his Enſigne, Gervaſe Brach.
Fourth Captain, Paul Wats.
his Lieutenant, Andr. Manwarring.
his Enſigne, Tho. Barriffe.
Fifth Capt. for Firelocks, Will. Lowet.
his Lieutenant, Redman.

his

his Enſigne, Jo. Raymond.

Third Colonell, Tho. Ballard.
his Lieutenant, Tho. Grover.
his Enſigne, Leonard Morton.
Lieutenant Colonell Sir Ed. Denny.
his Lieutenant, Ed. Odingſells.
his Enſigne, William Garfoot.
Sergeant Major, Francis Martin.
his Lieutenant, Rob. Noyce.
his Enſigne, Jo. Hardy.
Firſt Captain, Captain Primroſe.
his Lieutenant, Ed. Norbury,
his Enſigne, William Fowlis.
Second Captain, Edward Allen.
his Lieutenant, Fran. Bowyer.
his Enſigne, Robert Goodwin.
Third Captain, Fran. Fook.
his Lieutenant, Tho. Nayerne.
his Enſigne, Hen. Higgins.
Fourth Captain, Thomas Middleton.
his Lieutenant, Jo. Lookar.
his Enſigne, Charles Parker.
Fifth Capt. for Firelocks, Pet. Nurford.
his Lieutenant, Robert Davis.
his Enſigne, Hen. Cope.

Fourth Colonell, Charles Eſſex.
his Lieutenant, Fran. Hall.
his Enſigne, Jo. Shipman.
Lieut. Col Adam Cunningham.
his Lieutenant, Peter Criſpe.
his Enſigne, Leonard Hawkins.
Sergeant Major, Tho Ogle.
his Lieutenant, James Webb.
his Enſigne, Richard Osborne.
Firſt Captain, William Roberts.
his Lieutenant, Ambroſe Tindall.
his Enſigne, Jo. Watkins.
Second Captain, George Narrow.
his Lieutenant, Edward Barnwell.
his Enſigne, Tho. Paramour.
Third Captain, Conſtance Ferret.
his Lieutenant, William Hewet.
his Enſigne, Jo. Hemings.
Fourth Captaine, Sam. Loftus.
his Lieutenant, James Barrell.
his Enſigne, Fran. Butler.
Fifth Cap. for Firelocks, John Jinkins.
his Lieutenant, Bartho. Elecot.
his Enſigne, Mr. Wayte.

Fifth Colonell, William Bamfield.
his Captain, Sam. Price.
his Enſigne, Caſworth.
Lieutenant Colonell, Wagſtaffe.
his Lieutenant, Tho. Coleby.
his Enſigne, Robert Nelſon.
Sergeant Major, George Hutchinſon.
his Lieutenant, Jo. Minſhaw.
his Enſigne, William Bourcher.
Firſt Captain, Jo. Bainfield.
his Lieutenant, Richard Bingley.
his Enſigne, Ralph Garts.
Second Captain, Horatio Carey.
his Lieutenant, Allen Povey.
his Enſigne, Humfrey Burton.
Third Captain, Robert Baker.
his Lieutenant, Michael Bland.
his Enſigne, Jo. Roſe.
Fourth Captain, Chriſtoph. Burgh.
his Lieutenant, Tho. Hoare.
his Enſigne, Samuel Manaton.
Fifth Cap. for Fire-locks, Rich. Benſon.
his Lieutenant, Tho. Latimer.
his Enſigne, Jo. Browne.

FINIS.

5

JUAN CARAMUEL LOBKOVVITZ.

Religioso de la orden de Ciſter Abbad De Melroſa, &c.

CONVENCIDO en ſu libro intitulado, *Philippus prudens Caroli V. Imper. filius, Luſitaniæ, &c. Legitimus Rex demonſtratus.* Impreſſo en el anō de 1639.

Y'

En ſu *reſpueſta al manifieſtō del Reyno de Portugal*, Impreſſa en eſte āno 1642.

DEDICADO

A *Don Anton. d' Almada* embaxador extraordinario del ſereniſſimo Principe DON JUAN Rey de Portugal, al ſereniſſimo Principe *CARLOS* Rey de la Gran Bretāna.

POR

El Dotor ANTONIO de SOUSA de MACEDO, del ſupremo Senado de Juſticia de ſu Mageſtad de Portugal; y ſu Reſidente por la Embaxada ordinaria junto a la perſona de ſu Mageſtad de la Gran Bretāna.

EN *LONDRES*
Impreſſo, por *Ric. Herne*, An. Dom. 1643.

A

Dom Antão D'Almada,

Embaixador exraordinário del Rey nosso Senhor em Inglaterra.

A Liberdade, que a patria deve a V. Excel. na reſtituicaõ de ſeu legitimo Rey, fica mais glorioſa juſtificada pella boca de ſeus inimigos; o mais pertinaz foi até-gora João Caramuel; mas, já convencido da verdade, vem confeſſar ſeu erro diante de V. Excelª; para que pois V. Excelª deu tão feliz principio, e tão memoravel execuçaõ a aquella empreſa, lhe ponha tam-

bem este ultimo esmalte, E lhe chamemos obra toda sua. Elle se convenceo a si mesmo, como com evidencia mostra o papel presente; a mim se deve sô a vontade com que desejo fazer a ventajados serviços a S. Mg^de e dedicar maiores trabajos a v.excel^a; a qual espero empregar em outras occasiões, pois nesta mẽ faltou materia, para satisfazer a minha obrigãçao. Em Londres, &c.

Antonio de Sousa
de Macedo.

Prologo.

EN un libro que llegó a mis manos; intitulado, *Reſpueſta al manifieſto del Reyno de Portugal; Por D. Juan Caramuel Lobkovvitz, &c.* he viſto que ſu Autor ſe quexa En general de los Portugueſes, y en particular de mi, porque no reſpondiamos a otro libro que há impreſſo en el ano de 1639, a que llamó; *Philippus prudens Luſitaniæ, &c. Legitimus Rex demonſtratus.* Pareciome que affectava la fama que ganó el Machiavelo ſolo por los que eſcrivieron contra el. Con todo por no parecer ſoberbia el deſpreciarle, y porque procuro ſiempre atajar las quexas que de mi pueda aver; me diſpuſe en eſte breve tratado a reſponder a entrambos los de Caramuel referidos, que contienen una miſma coſa; y porque en ellos ay puntos, cuya cenſura no tenia lugar en los diſcurſos ſeguientes, y quiero decir todo lo en que reparo

por dar entera satisfacion a su quexa, los reservé para aquy.

No me detengo en censurar el modo en que repartió su Philippe, una vez por titulos; otra por quæstiones; ya por §§; ya por disputas; intrometiendo articulos, separando objecciones, haciendo notados, diuidiendo conclusiones; y finalmente recopilando en aquel libro todas las maneras de escrivir que se hallan en quantos ay en el mundo, con que es un laberinto tan intricado que no ay hilo que pueda servir de guia.

No reparo en lo futil del *Libro* 1. del uno y otro tratado, que se passa en noticias generales de los Reyes Portugueses no necessarias para el intento.

Dexo lo extraordinario de nombrar siempre los *Fernandos* por, *Ferrandos*, que, si en Latin puede passar, en romance es una impertinencia.

Peccados veniales son aquellos y otros, que a vista de los mortales quasi non parecen; veamos estos.

Inadvertencia inexcusable fue escribir su *Philippe* para justificar la occupacion de la Corona que el Rey Catholico possehia avia sessenta anõs; quando

quando fuera mas ſazonado un libro de advertencias para gobernarla bien. Y formaſe la culpa de la occaſion que le movió a eſcribir, queriendo perſuadir el derecho de ſu Rey a los que ſe temia que lo murmuraſſen: que confiada es la juſticia! eſtos temores no pueden ſer imaginados ſino por la deſeſperacion de tiranos, y uſurpadores que tienen ſiempre delante delos ojos el importuno objecto de ſu crimen, y temen todo aquello que merecen; como elegantemente notó il ſieur Leſſargues *en el lib. 1. de la vida del grande Alexandro.* Y deſte modo hiço tirano, y uſurpador a ſu Rey; lo qual ni deviera penſar.

En eſta reſpueſta *pagina 17.* gloſando el manifieſto de Portugal, arguye que nueſtro ſereniſſimo Rey quitó el tribunal de la ſanta Inquiſició en ſus reynos, ſi es aſsi, o no, no ſe lo digo aquy; vaya a Portugal predicar las opiniones que tuvo en ſus libros tocantes a la Religion, y ſabráſi la ay. Solo advierto que en eſto ſigue la mala raçon de eſtado de los miniſtros Caſtellanos que deſeſperados de otro camino ſolicitan el odio de los Catholicos contra Portugal, publicando por varias partes, y particulermente en Alemania entre ignorantes que hemos dexado la ſanta fee

de la Iglesia Romana; nescios que (sin que sus falsedades puedan poner una pequeña macula en el splendor de la religion Portuguesa;) acrecientan la occasion que tuvo el Bocalino *en la pietra del paragone cap.* 4. para decir de la Monarchia Hespanóla: *Avanza ogni altra reyna, & presente, & passata nel saper con il manto di doppio brocato ricoprir ogni suo ancorche diabolico interesse.* Y en el cap. 3. *Gli huomini tutti. vennero in chiara cognitione li Spagnuoli essere stati primi auttori di quell' incendio Francese, che con speciosissimi pretesti di religione, & di carità al mondo tutto s'eran Sforzati dar ad intendere di voler ismorzare.* Y augmentan los motivos con que H. de Rohan, *en el libro de l'interest des Princes, & Estats discurso* 1. referiendo las traças de que usa el interez de Hespaña, escrive: *La primiere est fondee sur la religion, come celle qui par conscience fait entreprendre toutes choses aux peuples; il faut tesmoigner un grand zele á la Catholique, a fin de servir d'elle en ses desseins.* Y justifican las causas con que el Autor de *Catalonia iterum ad Lilia perfugiens, §. ô beatior Fernande*, exclama que los Castellanos por su interez de estado atropellan divino, y humano, *simulato religionis conservan-*

da

dæ, aut propagandæ pretextu; fovendo tamen hæreticos in Franciâ, vtendo Anglis in ſchymatis ipſius exordio ad Galliæ imperium Chriſtianiſſimum deſtruendum, & permittendo ut interim Lutherani in Germaniâ publicè prædicarent; vnde te, ſucceſſores que tuos Catholici Regis nomen, non propter Religionem, ſed ad regni univerſalis ambitionem aſſumpſiſſe multi ſuſpicantur. Dixit quæ appoſitè hiſtoriæ ſcriptor aliquis inſtructiſſimus, regna quædam ultimo ſæculo hæreſibus fuiſſe infecta, ſed Hiſpaniam eſſe peſſimâ imperij corruptam ratione, ejuſque ſalutem multò difficiliorem videri: O, no ya neſcios, ſino malicioſos miniſtros, que tan infamemente dais occaſion a que mal affectos ſe atrevan a la Chriſtiandad incorruptible de toda Heſpañ! Ladren quanto quiſieren apaſsionados eſtrangeros, que el Catholico zelo de los Reyes Caſtellanos es Olimpo ſuperior a ſus tempeſtades; y ſolo queda infamado quien dá cauſa a calumnias ſemejantes.

Miſerablente yerra en las hiſtorias Portugueſas mas notorias. En ſu *Philippe* en unodelos procemios que intituló: *Occaſio ſcribendi: verſic. Ioannes tertius*, dice: *Ioannes 3. Luſitanicas quinas (ſic ipſi nominant) ſeptem Caſtellis circumcinxit*,

cinxit, Sacramenta Ecclesiæ Catholicæ significantibus. Siendo cosa tan sabida que el Rey D. *Alfonso* 3. puso los Castillos trescientos años antes por el Reyno del Algarbe; y assi el mismo *Caramuel* olvidado de si, en las effigies que alli trae de los Reyes Portugueses pinta al proprio Rey D. *Alfonso*, y despues a la Reyna Santa *Isabel*; y al Rey D. *Iuan* 2. con los Castillos en los escudos de sus armas.

En el mismo Philippe *lib.* 1 *tit. Ferrandus*, escrive. *Infans Joannes magister Avi sensium calliditate Reginæ Leonoræ persuasus uxorem suam esse adulteram leviter credidit, inque Conimbricensi civitate violentâ manu interemit*; Siendo que el Infante que mató su muger no fue el maestre de Aviz, sino su hermano que tambien se llamava *Iuan* hijo del Rey D. *Pedro*, y de D. *Inez* de Castro; como dice el mismo *Caramuel* encontrandose *lib.* 3. *disp. un. q.* 2. *art.* 1. *n.*12. ibi: *ex pulcherrimâ Agnete succepit Alfonsum qui puer obiit*; *Ioannem de Portugal qui duxit D. Mariam Tellez, Reginæ Leonoræ sororem, hujus Reginæ consilio Ioannes occidit Mariam.* Y lo repite *lib.* 3. *disp. un. q.* 3. *n.*19. en la segunda impresion emendará esta contrariedad.

En

En el mismo *lib. 1. tit. Joannes I: verſic, fuerat*, dice del Rey D. *Iuan* 1. que, *erat Diaconus*, oyó que el ſummo Pontifice lo avia diſpenſado para caſar (por el voto que tenia, como los otros Cavalleros de ordenes militares en aquel tiempo, por ſer Maeſtre de Aviz;) y pienſa que es porque tenia ordenes de Evangelio.

En el mismo tratado *lib. 5. in proœm. §. 1. n. 3.* dice: *habuit etiam Emanuel Infantem Henricum Ciſterſienſem monachum S. R. E. Cardinalem, &c.* Y otra vez *§. 2. in princip.* comiença: *Superſtite Monacho Rege; nempe Henrico.* El pobre religioſo oyó que el Rey D. *Henrique* avia ſido Abbad de Alcobaça, monaſterio de Ciſter, y penſó que aquella Abbadia era como la ſuya, de Melroſa; y ſegun eſſo dirá tambien que era Monge Ciſtel cienſe el Cardinal Infante D. *Fernando* porque fue tambien Abbad de Alcobaça.

Pero como puede ſaber lo que paſſó en Portugal en otro tiempo quien ignora lo que oy paſſa? en la reſpueſta al manifieſto en ſu principio, *al que Leyere*, por fingir que mucha nobleſa de Portugal ſuſtentó en eſta occaſion las partes del Rey de Caſtilla, en compánia de pocos nobles que fueron infieles a ſu patria (que es

 impoſsible

imposſible faltar algunos en caſos ſemejantes) calumnîa otros ſin raçon, y nombra muchos de qualidad mũi differente con fundiendo todo con ignorancia notable.

En la miſma reſpueſta *lib.6. cap* 8. *n.*58. pone eſtas palabras accuſando a *Manuel* de Moraes. *En la plana* 20 *habla con noſotros como ſi no ſupieſſemos quien fue la Beltraneja, y lo mucho que debió Eſpaña a ſu continencia, y cordura lea Moraes hiſtoriadores, y borre todo aquel diſcurſo.* Eſte conſejo deve tomar para ſi el reverendo Padre, pues no ſolo cenſura a Moraes erradamente, mas tambien con temeraria lengua pretende calumniar la honra de D. *Iuanna* (que es la que llamaron la Beltraneja) Princeſa verdaderamente por confeſsion de todos, caſtiſsima, y Santa; equivóca ſu nombre con lo de ſu madre, a quien ſolo, y no a ſu hija, ſe atrevió la malicia de algunos; y en conſciencia deve reſtituicion a ſu memoria, porque ni todos los que leen ſus libros advierten en la ſimplicidad con que eſcrive.

La indecencia de ſus palabras es mucho para ſer reprehendida; en la reſpueſta citada *lib.6. cap.* 8. *n.*56; dice: *Vanagloriarſe de proteccion celeſte es gloria vana; el cielo, (direlo aunque*

peſe

peſe a los pronoſticos) no gobierna ni dirige las acciones humanas. Claro eſtá que no ſe trata ally de la proteccion de eſtrellas; proteccion celeſte es la de Dios; con equivocacion mũi mala niega que Dios gobierna el mundo; heregia viene aſer, como apuntamos a otro propoſito *p* 2. *n.*14. dixo eſto reprobando tambien a Moraes no me eſpanto; que anduvo mũi infeliz en ſu cenſura como, demas deſtes puntos, ſe ve en otro de que tratamos 5ª. *pᵉ. n.*38. *§. examina.*

De las uniones hypoſtaticas que hace *in Philip. lib.*5. *diſp.* 3. *q.* 2. *art.* 4. *n* 9; *& diſp.* 8. *q* 2. *art* 4. *n.*14. *y en la reſpueſta al manifieſto lib.*6 *cap.*3. Tratamos *en la* 5ª. *pᵉ. n.* 38. *§. en* 3º.

Finalmente es coſa admirable que un hombre ſe atrevieſſe a eſcrivir en materia de tanto peſo, y en que devia ſaber que ſeria leydo, y aun impugnado de doctos, ſin tener mas caudal, ni noticias que las que contiene una alegacion que en Portugal ſe hiço en tiempo del Rey D. *Henrique* en favor de la Sen. D. *Catalina* para la cauſa que ſe ponia en el juiſio que el Rey D. *Philippe* recuſó; llegó a ſu poder, como el confieſſa *en ſu Philippe lib.*5. *in proœm. §.*4. *n.*10. *y en otros muchos lugares*; todo lo que eſcrivió Sacó de ally

como nuestro *en la 4. p. n. 27. en el principio, y en el verfic. lo que mas es, y n. 29. verfic. las otras Leyes.* Y no se hallará que pusiesse cosa substancial de su casa; verdad es que usó mal della, como digo 4ª. *p.ª. n. 26. y n. 32. verfic. todo confiesa, y n 33. verfic. contra, y n. 34. verfic. concluye,* y aquy acreciento que la trasladó tan sin sentido, que *in Philip. lib. 5. disp. 8. q 2. art. 2. n. 5.* refiriendo por la misma orden los dotores que la alegacion cita, continúa assi; *Antonius Gomes in dicta l. 40. Tauri.* Y luego; *Antonius Gabriel n. 16* y mas abaxo; *Rojas d. n. 36.* como si ya uviera alegado estos Dotores, y que se referia a los lugares apuntados; siendo que no avia hasta ally hablado dellos; y los citó desta manera, porque aquella alegacion *q. 3. n. 10.* los cita por estas palabras por quanto los avia citado mas en particular en los numeros precedentes; pero nuestro dotor *Caramuel* fue como aquel de quien se cuenta, que trasladando un papel que otro avia echo; y hallando en el fin de la primera pagina esta advertencia; *buelta la hoja;* la trasladó tambien.

Por todo esto el Anonymo Lusitano (cuya elegancia rara, y erudicion grande le hace bien conocido

conocido, Y de quien parece que no tuvo noticia Caramuel, pues no le respondió, o no se atrevió a hacerlo) que tradució la alegacion dicha *de jure succedendi in Regn. Portugalliæ, in fin. Corollario 4. verfic. quanquam* dice del. *cum hic author nihil ferme in illo opere præter bonos caracteres boni habeat; quem cum legeris elementa tantùm probes; pudeatque te tam præclaros typos tam malè collocatos videre*, mas yo le embidiara la confiança si fuera mejor fundada; Con mucha puede responderme, y decir todo loque su facundia le dictare, que no estoy con pensamiento de replicarle palabra; porque tengo mas en que occuparme que en dar satisfacion alo que el está imaginando en su celda. Pidole solamente (por el cuidado que tuve dequitarle la occasion de sus quexas con esta respuesta) que no le venga ala imaginacion pensar que el reyno de Portugal (como el publîca por acreditarse) hase caso de sus escritos; porque le asseguro lo contrario; y que el censurar el manifiesto algunas desus proposiciones, fue porque, siendo el, escritor, o escriviente mas moderno, es fuerca aver trasladado las que ubiesse de otros, aun que no le diesse autoridad; escuse decirle alguno en

nombre de Portugal, loque Iuſto Lipſio al Dialogiſta en el principio de ſu reſpueſta: *Ego tecum? ſi viſum mihi litigare, alius eſſet cum quo conſererem manum; nam ut ille ait,*

Trophæum ferre me á forti viro pulchrum eſt;

Sin autem & vincar, vinci à tali nullum eſt probrum.

At tu quis es? ignotus es; imo tu quis es? nimis notus es.

Reſta a hora que pues eſtan deſlumbradas ſus obras (que es ſolo loque aguardava *como nos dice enel fin de la reſpueſta al manifieſto*) ſalgan aluz los otros trabajos que *Caramuel* nos promete tocantes ala corona Portugueſa; para que (ſegun es ſu fortuna en eſtas impreſsiones) ſi alpunto en que ſalió a luz ſu *Philippe* alcançamos la libertad de nueſtro reyno; ſaliendo a hora otra obra ſuya conquiſtemos alguna coſa de nuevo.

Erratas.

Erratas.

ALgunas ay, *principalmente en* n. n. *a que faltan tildes para liquidarlos; eſtava el Autor auſente en Yorck, quando ſe imprimia; no ſe hace aquy tabla de las emiendas, porque el hacerla pertenece al P^e. Dotor Iuan Caramuel, como en ſu libro de la reſpueſta al manifieſto,* lib. 6. cap. 5. *ſe occupó en hacerla de las erratas del libro Anonymo* : Portugallia, &c. *que ſe imprimió en la Oficina Elzeveriana.*

PARTE I.

Convence el primer titulo que propone *Juan Caramuel* pagina 72. con eſtas palabras.

Es verdadero Rey de Portugal D. Philippe el Grande por ſer Rey de Leon; excluyendo a todos los ſucceſſores de D. Alfonſo Henriques, que le negò al Rey de Leon la devida obediencia, y ſe levantò con la corona.

Trata de probarlo en todo el libro 2. y lo toca lib. 1. tit. D. Alfonſo 1. y. tit. D. Philippe 1. y lib. 3. cap. 2. n. 23. *§. reſpondo.*

1. FVndalo en la donacion que D. Alfonſo 6 Rey de Leon hiſo al conde D. Henrique en el ano de 1090, que hace oy 652 anos

y el Arçobiſpo D. Rodrigo Ximenes Caſtellano en ſu hiſtoria, *lib.7. cap.*15. confieſſa que ni Don. Henrique, ni ſus ſucceſſores dieron jamàs el reconocimiento, a que ſe dice que la donacion obligava, y aſsi es mas antiguo eſte titulo de lo que pide la cauſa preſente; porque, aun que en los Reynos ordinariamente no aya preſcripcion ſegun las leyes civiles, tantos ſeculos la inducen por el derecho de las gentes fundado en raçon natural, y aun por el civil; principalmente aviendo titulos baſtantes para juſtificar la conſciencia, (comouvo en Portugal, no ſolo baſtantes, ſino mũi legitimos,) que a noſer eſto, como canoniſaria la Igleſia por ſanto al grande Rey de Francia Luis 9; ſino reſtituyô el Reyno de que ſu aſcendiente Hugo Capeto 280 anos antes avia privado por armas los deſcendientes de Pepino? o que Principe ay que pueda derivar ſucceſsion recta de tantos ſiglos? yo no pretendo que Caramuel defienda la uſurpacion de Eſpana por los Godos cuyos herederos ſellaman los Reyes de Caſtilla; ni latirania conque Alfonſo 3. y Ramiro 2. de Leon Sacaron los ojos a ſus hermanos, y primos, que tenian derecho ala corona, por poſſeerla pacifica; porque no vamos mas lexos, vea

la ſucceſsion de los Reyes Catholicos no de 652 anos a eſta parte, mas de ſolos 300 en quaſi todos los eſtados deque ſe nombran ſenores, hallará que el Reyno de Caſtilla en eſte tiempo fue uſurpado quatro veſes, S. por D. Alº y ſu muger D. Berengaria a D. Blanca muger de Luis 8. Rey de Francia; por D. Sancho 4. al Principe de Lacerda; por D. Henrique 2. al Rey D. Pedro; por D. Fernando, y D. Iſabel a la Princeſa D. Iuanna. El de Leon tres veſes en la miſma manera; Aragon, Valencia, Cataluña, y lomas pertenecíente a eſtas coronas por el Infante de Caſtilla, D. Fernando a D. Iſabel condeça de Vrgel; ydeſpues a D. Iuanna, y D. Violante hijas del Rey D. Iuan. 1. Navatra, y Napoles por el dicho Rey D. Fernando el Catholico, aquel alos Reyes Iuan Albretano, y D. Catalina; eſte a D. Alº 2. y a ſu hijo 5 el ducado de Milan alos ſucceſſores de los Esforcias; y el Senorio de Biſcaya por D. Alº 11. a D. Iuan el tuerto. Mal ſirve a ſu principe quien reſucita coſas tan decrepitas, de que el Rey Philippe 2. (que lo miró mejor) no ſe valió en ſus alegaciones, y aſsi fuera de menos enfado alos Letores, y de mas credito al Autor no meter ſe en tales embaraços, pe-

ro pues quiere, y aun atribuye a falta de justicia lo que fue sobra de cordura en no responderles, será bien que le mostremos su engano, porque no imagine que carecemos de raçones para contradecirlo, como yo pienso que el no las halló para dar satis facion por menor ala respuesta que hise a Pellicer.

2 Antes de todo, no es para passar en silencio que la parte contraria no tiene probado perfetamente el fundamento de su acçion; porque ay duda en el feudo que suppone por cierto, pues es buena opinion que no lo uvo; y Manuel de faria en su *Epitome 3.par. ca.1. u.9.* llama o mal informados, o no bien affectos los escritores que dixeron lo contrario, y de aquella donacion sin tal clausula hace mencion el manuescrito que con respeto refiere el mismo Caramuel en esta respuesta, y en su Philippe, *Lib.1.tit. del Conde D. Henrique*; y siendo ordinarias en Espana semejantes donaciones de grandes estados, y aun de Reynos que los Reyes dividian entre sus hijos sin obligacion de reconocimiento por causas del bien publico que consideravan, como avia echo D. Fernando par de emperador, Rey de Leon, y Castilla, D. Sancho el maior rey de Navarra

Navarra y otros, es mũi vero ſimil que el rey D. Alfonſo 6. haria ſimples donacion a D. Henrique, ſiendo ſobrino de ſumuger D. *Conſtancia* nieto de Roberto 2. Duque de Borgona (hijo de ſu hijo major que murió antes deheredarle) y nieto Segundo de Roberto pio rey de Francia, como confieſſa *Caramuel en el lugar proximamente citado*; y por ſuperſona uno de los mas valeroſos principes que pregona la fama; y quando lo caſava con ſu hija legitima D. Tereſa avida de D. Ximena Nunes de Guſman con quien fue caſado, como averiguaron el grande inveſtigador de antiguedades Andres de Rezende *Lib. 4. de Antiq. Luſit, Duarte Nunes de Leão en la Chron. de D. Henrique, Pedro de Maris Dial. 2. cap. 3. y el docto Fr. Bernardo de Britto en la Chron. de Ciſter. parte 1. lib. 2. cap. 6.*

3. Pero porque no aya el menor eſcrupulo en opinion que tenga qualquiera contrariedad; ſupponiendo con *Caramuel* el feudo que quiere, (ſin prejuiſio de la verdad) es de advertir que caeria ſolamente en las pocas leguas que llaman *Entre Duero, y Mino* y parte de la *Beira* contenidas en la donacion; no en lo reſtante, que es la maior parte de Portugal, ni en todo el reyno del

Algarve por ser esto posseido entonçes por los Moros, y ganado despues por los Portugueses, cuyo valor lo acquirió libremente para si, como ya he mostrado *en mis excelencias de Portugal, cap. 5. excel. 6. a n. 3.* y se prueba de derecho por lo que escrivió el grande Doctor Castellano *Covarruv. in reg. peccatum 2. parte. § 9.* y en particular de Portugal lo affirman *Ferret. de Iusto & injusto bello, n 24. Navar. in repet. cap. novit n. 165. de Iudic.* y parece que Caramuel me escusa de repitirlo quando *Lib. 4. cap. 2. y en su Philippe lib. 2. in fin.* nos hace favor de conceder derecho en las Indias que conquistamos (si bien nos las toma otra vez por los fructos de seiscientos anos que comimos de Portugal) pues no dirá que los Moros occupavan con mejor titulo Espana que los gentiles las Indias. Veo con todo que en el mismo *cap. n. 4.* dice, *Que el reyno de Portugal, y Algarve* (ya en tiempo de D. Alfonso Henriq.) *se desmembraron de la corona de Leon sin raçon, ni justicia*; y haviendo los Portugueses conquistado de los Moros la maior parte de Portugal, y todo el Algarve, no se yo en que se funda; si no es que considera algun derecho a la conquista en los reyes de Leon heredado de los

los Godos; y segun esto dirá tambien que los reyes de Aragon, Navarra, y otros principes de Espana han sido todos ilegitimos; pienso cierto que lo imaginava quando, *Lib. 1. tit. D. Henrico*, escrivió que el rey D. Alº casó su hija con el dicho D. Henrique *Dandole a Portugal en dote con condicion que lo conquistose de la tyrania de los Agarenos Mahometanos*. Liberal donacion! de lo que los Moros posseyan. Mas deve saber (aun que concedamos alos reyes Leoneses ser succesfores de los Godos, loque no disputamos) que los Godos nunca tuvieron derecho ala corona sino por eleccion del pueblo; como se dispuso en el concilio Toletano 4. *Can. vlt. Tolet. 5. Can. 3. & Tolet. 12. in princip.* de que hacen mencion *Cov. Pract. ca. 1. n. 7. Garcia de expens. cap. 16. n. 17.* y lo prueba *la ley 1. con otras en el proemio del libro del fuero juzgo*, que refiere *Molina de primogen. cap. 2. n. 11.* y assi sin embargo de los hijos, y cercanos parientes del rey defuncto, subieron los mas remotos al trono real por veses; por lo qual notó el Doctor Salazar de Mendoça Castellano *en el libro de las casas de Castilla lib. 1. cap. 12* que el rey D. Ordono fue el primero que succedió a su padre D. Ramiro

Ramiro por herencia, por que hasta entonces se guardava la eleçcion usada entre los Godos; de que si sigue que en lo hasta ally no conquistado bastava la que hisieron los pueblos de D. Alfonso Henriques Godo tambien por su madre, siendo, como son, las hembras admittidas en Espana a la succesion de la corona. Quantymas que ella una ves en poder de los Moros con medios de recuperaçion tan difficiles, en cuya dilacion la Christiandad perdia irreparablemente, absurdo seria negar la conquista aqualquiera Principe Catholico, como está dicho, y nadie dudará oy que si algumo conquistare la santa ciudad de Hyerusalem la posseerá con justisimo titulo non obstante otro que tenga derecho mas antiguo. Y conforme a esto el summo Pontifice *Alexandro 6* en las dudas que uvo entre Portugal y Castilla sobre la conquista de Berberia, jusgó que pertenecia a los reyes Castellanos por succesores de los Godos que la dominaron, con declaracion que seria de los Portugueses lo que alla avian ganado por armas (como titulo de mas fuerça) en la qual sentencia con satisfacion grande consentieron los reyes de Castilla.

Tratando pues de solas aquellas pocas tierras de

de Portugal, digo que ni en ellas tiene vigor alguno el primer titulo que propone *Caramuel*; y esto por 4 fundamentos, cada uno dellos bastantisimo.

4 1°. Porque si uvo obligacion de reconocimiento la remittieron los reyes de Leon, como escriven *Marin. Siculu, de Reb. Hispan. lib.* 8. *tit. de Regib. Portug. Roder. Sanc. Hist. Hispan. parte* 4. *cap.* 3. que en esto concuerdan con otros, aunque dicen que el Rey D. Al° 10. hizo la remision, siendo mas cierto (si es que fue necessaria) que la avian echo otros reyes mucho antes, despues que D Al° 7. fue vencido por nuestro D. *Alfonso Henriques* en la batalla de Valdevez, de que habla el P^e *Juan de Marianna, Hist. Hispan. lib.* 10. *cap.* 13. laqual, en la opinion de los Autores que affirman la dicha obligacion, sucedió sobre el complimiento della; y se ve que alomenos des de entonces los reyes Leoneses estavan tan fuera de pretender algo de Portugal que de ahi a algunos anos el rey D. *Fernando* 2. prendiendo en Badajoz al mismo D. *Alfonso Henriques*, le embió libre para su reyno sin condicion alguna; como (dexando otras opiniones) testifica Marianna el mejor

Autor Castellano, y maior enemigo de los Portugueses *en su hist. lib.* 11. *cap.* 15. Loque no es verosimil que hisiera si el Portuguez le negara deuda alguna, pues tenia tan buena occasion de cobrarla, o segurar su partido conqualquiera promessa.

Caramuel lib. 2. *cap.* 1. *num.* 9. *y cap.* 2. *n.* 14. confiessa que los Reyes de Leon dimitieron alos de Portugal el reconocimiento que pretende; pero dice que *los conciertos, y contratos que se hasen por violencia y a mas no poder carecen de libertad politica, y no pueden ser obligatorios*; alegacion indigna de Reyes, y que si fuera admisible destruyera el gobierno del mundo, no gardandose los pactos que hacen los Principes constrenidos ordinariamente de malos successos en lasarmas; y seria imposible el rescate de un Rey si es echo prisionero de su adversario; y assi D. *Iuan Antonio de Vera conde de la Rocha en el epitome de Carlos 5.* estrana mucho aver quien dixesse que el Rey *Francisco* de Francia no devia guardar las condiciones con que recuperó la libertad perdida en Paviá, como prometidas por fuerça; y *Caramuel* deve permittir que tambien militen en nustro favor los fundamentos que los

suyos

ſuyos alegan por ſi, pues concurre de nueſtra parte raçon no ſolamente igual, ſino tanto maior quanto menor libertad tenia el Rey de Francia preſo, que los de Leon libres. Ni puede ayudarſe del manifieſto de Portugal §. 12. 19. y. 52. porque loque ſe eſcrivió *en el* §. 12. es coſa tan diverſa, que baſta verlo para conocerſe que no puede applicarſe al intento; confiadamente paſſo ſin detenerme a mostrar la diverſidad. *y el* §. 19. *y* 52. deciendo que el juramento del ſereniſsimo Rey de Portugal quando Duque, no tuvo vigor por ſer echo por la maior violencia; es conforme a todo derecho; pero habla de perſona que procedia como vaſſallo, y no ſe extende a las açciones de los Reyes que poſſeen ſus reynos, enquien ſe conſideran o tras cauſas que la paſsion no dexó ver a eſte eſcritor; y ſi toda via perſiſte en ſu propoſicion; digame conque titulo ſe eximió Cataluna del antigo vaſſallaje que devia alos Reyes de Francia de donde ſalió por condado; que yo penſava que ſe fundaria en algun conçierto. Reſponderá que el ſenor Conde Duque con la *vigilãcia, ſolicitud, y providencia* que alaba *lib.* 5. *cap.* 5. *in fine*, por eſte eſcrupulo dexó

ya aquel estado al Rey de Francia, que como Principe Christianissimo le ayudó a descargar la consciencia de su Rey; mas pregunto, porque no reconoce oy el condado de Flandres por Senor supremo, como antigamente, almismo Rey de Francia? ordena tambien dexarselo su Excelencia? es menester mirar todo antes de escrivir.

5 2°. Tienen los Reyes de Portugal el titulo que les há dado el mismo dios; (avrá quien dude de su poder?) estando D. *Alfonso Henriques* en el campo de Ourique para dar aquella famosa batalla a sinco reyes Motos, y otros quinse Regulos, acompanados de gente innumerable, le hablô Christo senor nuestro crucificado, y cercado de Angeles con aquel milagro tan sabido, y dixo al venturoso principe: *Non ut tuam fidem dugerem hoc modo apparui tibi, sed ut roborarem cor tuum in hoc conflictu, & initia regni tui supra firmam petram stabilirem; confide, Alphonse, non solûm enim hoc certamen vinces, sed omnia alia in quibus contra inimicos crucis pugnaveris, gentem tuam invenies alacrem ad bellum, & foriem, petentem, ut sub Regis nomine in hac pugná egrediaris; nec dubites, sed quidquid petierint liberé*

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emcede ; ego enim ædificator, & dissipator imperiorum, & regnorum sum, volo enim in te, & in semine tuo imperium mihi stabilire, vt deferatur nomen meum in exteras gentes, & vt agnoscat successores tui datorem regni, in signe unum ex pretio quo ego humanum genus emi, & ex eo quo ego a Iudæis emptus sum compones ; & erit mihi regnum sanctificatum, fide purum, & pietate dilectum. Consta largamente del instrumento publico que trasladó *Caramuel* en su *Philippe lib. 2. quæst. 1. art. 7.* y se halló en el cartorio antigo del Real monasterio de Alcobaça, y se presentó al Rey D. *Philippe* 2 de Castilla poco despues de occupar Portugal (quedando la copia authentica en el reyno) el qual instrumento el dicho D. *Alfonso* hiso en presencia de muchos, y graves testigos con su sello pendente jurando en el lo que avia passado ; y puesto que embidiosos dixeron ser papel echo de nuevo, sin respeto alas circunstancias que mostravan su antiguedad, convenciolos (demas de la tradicion constante) la chronica del proprio rey, la qual por mandado de el rey D. Manuel recopiló su chronista Duarte Galvaõ ha mas de 130 anos de otra antiquissima, *y en el cap.* 15. tratando de aquella gloriosa vision contiene

tiene estas palabras : *E o Principe sabioſe fora de ſua tenda, & ſegundo elle meſmo deu teſtemunho em ſua hiſtoria , vio noſſo ſenhor em a cruz na meſma maneira que diſſe o hermitão , E adorou o, &c.* con lo qual se redusieron a darle el devido credito entre los escritores Castellanos *Valdez de dignit. Reg. cap. 15. n. 22. Molina en el nobiliario de Andaluſia lib. 1. cap. 43. Segura en el romancero de los Reyes de Port ; Romance 5. y con ellos el Dotor Martin de Aſpilcueta Navarro in cap. novit notabili 3. n. 149. de judic.* y todos los estrangeros, como son *Thomas Boſſius de Sign. Eccleſ. tom. 2. lib. 7. cap. 7. pag. mihi 430. Bernardin. Roſignol. de act. virt. lib. 2. cap. 16. Horatius Turſilin. in Epit. hiſt. Abraham Ortel. referiendo a Oliverio Marcha, in teatro Orb. tab. Portugal.* y otros muchos.

Veo que el buen *Caramuel Lib. 6. cap. 1.* dice, y aviadicho *en el Philippe lib. 2. quaſt. 1. art. 7. pag. 121. fue verdad que D. Alfonſo Henriques deſpachò aquel diploma, pero ſoſpecho que fue parabola, y enigma con que el dicho Monarcha* (no lepuede negar este nombre) *quiſo alentar a ſus ſoldados ; es proprio de tiranos decir*

cir que el Rey de los exercitos les dió la inveſtidura de las Provincias que conquiſtaron con los ſuyos ; Fue fertil Grecia de ſemejantes fabulas, muchas ſe hallan en la hiſtoria Romana, aun que eſcritas con mas eſcrupulo, y reparo Yo penſava que era proprio de ſolos Lutheranos, y Calviniſtas negar los milagros que conſtan de las hiſtorias authenticas en que conſiſte la fee humana ; mas ay, que un Catholico, y monge : pero no proſiga la pluma, que es neceſſario eſcrivir con mas decoro, que ſu atrevimiento ſupo guardar a un Rey tanto ; baſta repetir la correcçion que le dió y a otros incredulos, el *Doctor Fr. Bernardo de Britto religioſo* de ſu habito ciſtercienſe (ſi bien me acuerdo) *en la Chronica de la miſma orden lib. 3. cap. 2.* que deciendo eſto tantos, y tan graves Autores ſe deve eſtranar mucho que en perſona docta quepa tan grande falta como es dudar dello contra la verdad de un Rey Chriſtianiſsimo que vió la humanidad del omnipotente, y lo juró ; contra la honra de Dios que ſe le quiſo moſtrar ; contra el juramento de tantos que lo teſtifican ; y contra el conſuelo de un reyno tan Catholico, y pio que

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en este fundamento tan misterioso edificó siempre todas las esperanças de felices succes-sos en sus empresas, que nunca la misericordia divina le dexó frustradas. Hemos visto que los Portugueses con successos tan milagrosos llevaron el nombre de Christo a tan estranas gentes, como son las que habitavan lo intimo de la Africa, lo remoto de la Asia, y lo ignoto de la America, que fue lo que dixo el mismo senor; *ut deferatur nomen meum in exteras gentes.* Hemos visto que en el rey D. *Henrique*, 17. rey, y 16. generacion Real del rey D. *Alfonso Henriques*, se attenuó la generacion de reyes Portugueses (intrometiendose los Castellanos) como en aquella occasion dixo al mismo D. *Alfonso* el venerable Heremita de parte de Dios: *Posuit enim super te, & super semen tuum post te oculos misericordiæ suæ usque in sextam decimam generationem in quâ attenuabitur proles.* Hemos visto que attenuada assi la generacion de reyes Portugueses, bolvió el senor los ojos atràs a la derecha linea que parece avia desamparado, y hallando en ella al sereniſsimo Duque de Bragança, le restituyó el reyno tan inesperada

rada y extraordinariamente ; como lo avia prometido continuando : *ſed in ipſâ prole attenuatâ ipſe reſpiciet, & videbit* notese la ſignificacion dela palabra, *reſpiciet*, que es como acordarſe, y bolver los ojos a la derecha linea que quedava atras ; (que es tambien el modo de hablar de que uſa aquella, celebre profecia contenida en el teſtamento que ſe hiſo en Santarem el ano de 1515. que deſpues de vaticinar todo lo que en eſta ſucceſsion uvo haſta el preſente, dice : *Repullulabit ſceptrum renovatum, & non auferetur unquam ab eo.* Repulular llama, y ſceptro renovado ; por que ſe cortó el arbol Luſitano intrometiendoſe los reyes de Caſtilla ; mas oy repulula, y ſe renueva el miſmo que era.) quien, ſino fue Dios, dixo a D. *Alfonſo* tantos anos antes, tanto alo cierto, tantos futuros que deſpues vimos ? ſepa finalmente *Caramuel* que el grave Dotor Valdes eſcrivió por orden del rey Catholico aquel libro *de dignitate Regum*, que ſe preſentó al ſummo Pontifice ſobre la precedencia entre ſu embaxador, y el del rey Chriſtianiſsimo, *y en el d. cap.* 15. *n.* 22. alega por fundamento müi principal de ſu parte ſer rey de Portugal, reyno fundado por Dios, como prueba por la eſcritura

referida que alli traslada; y vea si, en materia de tanto peso, será mejor darse credito alo que el dice que sospecha, o a lo que su Philippe affirmó delante del Summo Pontifice.

6. 3° Suppuesto que D. *Alfonso Henriques* estava en possession pacifica de aquella parte de Portugal por la donacion echa a su padre por el rey de Leon su aguelo sin reconocimiento alguno de feudo, segun la opinion referida *n.* 2. o, si lo tuvo, aviendo los mismos reyes de Leon desistido del despues de la batalla de Valdevez, como hemos dicho *n.* 4. fue bastante para darle titulo de rey sobre aquellas tierras, y mucho mejor sobre las de nuevo conquistadas, la acclamacion de sus vassallos en el campo de Ourique; por ser este el módo legitimo por donde empeçaron todos los reynos, segun el derecho de las gentes; *L. ex hoc jure ff. de just. & jure; ibi ex hoc jure gentium introducta sunt bella, discretæ gentes, regna condita.* Declara la glosa. *à singulis gentibus, quæ sibi Reges elegerunt.* La qual acclamacion despues fue confirmada con toda consideracion en cortes de los tres estados celebradas en la ciudad de Lamego; y *Caramuel*, (aunque en otras partes lo niega) poco constante en loque escrive,

crive, confiessa de plano que la creacion de Rey echa en aquellas cortes fue celebrada con la devida solennidad, *En su Philippe lib. 5. disput. 4. art. 1. n. 24 probatione 9. in Lamegi comitiis* (dice) *ubi & Afonsus debitâ solemnitate fuit creatus Lusitanorum Rex.*

7. 4°. Los summos Pontifices Inocentio 2. an. 1142, Alexandre 3. an. 1179, y otros despues destos, concedieron, y confirmaron el titulo de Rey a D. Alfonso Henriques, y sus succesores, como cuenta Garibay *lib. 34. cap. 3.* sin embargo de la oppoſicion que los Reyes de Leon hisieron en Roma por Embaxadores embiados a esso, como dice Caramuel, *En su Philippe lib. 2. quæst. 1. art. 3. in princip.* adonde *lib. 5. quæst. 2. art. 1. n. 10. y art. 4 n. 15. y art. 5. n. 16.* trasslada de las chronicas Portuguesas las bulas que se guardan enel Real archivo de Portugal, *y en el dicho lib. 2. art. 3. n 7.* Seguiendo a Fr. Bernardo de Britto en la chronica de Ciſter, confiessa que el grande Padre San Bernardo solicitó este negocio por parte del Rey D. Alfonso con el summo Pontifice, y cierto no solicitaria cosa injusta, como este escritor no deve negar, quando no sea mas que por religioso de su habito, y assi, decidida la

causa, no queda lugar de tratar mas della, pues obsta la excepcion peremptoria de cosa jusgada. Si los summos Pontifices pueden dar, confirmar, oquitar Reynos? es question mui tratada que los no letrados pueden ver en lengua Castellana, y estilo seglar, (como dicen) en la politica del erudito Bobadilla *l. 1. c. 17.* y hablando en particular de las conquistas de Portugal la examinó bien el doctor Fr. Seraphin de Freitas *de justo imper. Lusitan. cap. 6.* Y es averiguado que, aunque derechamente no tiene poder en lo temporal delos Reynos, lo tiene indirectamente en orden al spiritual, assi se lee que el Papa Zacharias privó a Childerino del Reyno de Francia, Leon 3. elegió a Carlo Magno emperador; Adriano 4. por sentencia privó a Guillelmo del Reyno de Sicilia; Alexandro 3. a Federico Barbaroxa del imperio; Inocentio 3. a Othon del mismo, y dió la Corona de Aragon a D. Pedro 2. Inocencio 4 privó al emperador Federico 2. Iulio 2. alos Reyes Iuan y D. Catalina del Reyno de Navarra, dandole alos Reyes Catholicos; Paulo 3. a Henrico 8. de Inglaterra del derecho de reinar, que Pio 5. concedió a qualquiera principe Catholico que conquistasse aquel Rey-

no;

no; y dexando otros muchos exemplos, en Portugal Sabemos que platicaron esta jurisdiccion Inocencio, 3. obligando con censuras al Rey *D.* Alfonso 2. a accommodarse con sus hermanas en las dudas que tenian sobre ciertas villas, Inocencio 4. quitando el gobierno a *D.* Sancho 2. y dandolo a *D.* Alfonso, 3. Martino 5. Eugenio 4. Niçolas 5. y Sixto 4. concediendo loque se descobriesse hasta la India inclusivamente, y Alexandro 6. que repartió las conquistas entre Portugal, y Castilla.

No se atrevió nuestro Caramuel a negar esta doctrina; forçado la confiessa *En el præludio de su Philippe*; mas procura en el caso presente darle varias salidas; que estranas concluſiones se dexó escrivir *en todo el libro* 2 sobre esto! llega a decir *en la questión* 1. *art.* 3. *y* 6. *y l.* 5. *q.* 2. *art.* 6. *ex n.* 25. que ay Reyno temporal, el qual tiene suprema juris diccion en las cosas politicas, y civiles, y que no le puede dar el Papa; y Reyno eclesiastico, o Pontificio, que consiste en un titulo spiritual, e incorporeo, al qual no se concede mas que las indulgencias, privilegios, gracias, e indultos que suelen concederse alos Reyes verdaderos; y que este fue solamente el que los

Papas dieron, y confirmaron alos Principes Portugueſes; donoſa manera de hablar! hace el titulo de Rey cofradia para ganar indulgencias; y ſi no era mas deſto loque dava el ſummo Pontifice a D. Alfonſo Henriques; porque embiavan los Reyes de Leon embaxadores a Roma a impedirlo, como cuenta en el dicho tercero artigo? querian los Caſtellanos ya entonces governar el ſummo Pontificado haſta en repartir las indulgencias? bien claras ſon las palabras en la bula di Inocentio 2. *Et Regem Portugalliæ redintegritate honoris, regnique dignitate quæ ad Reges pertinet, & alia loca Excellentiæ tuæ concedimus, & autoritate Apoſtolicâ confirmamus.* En la bula de Alexandre 3 *Proinde nos attendentes perſonam tuam prudentiâ ornatam, juſtitiâ praditam, atque ad populi regimen idoneam, &c.* y Luego: *Regnum Portucallenſe cum integritate honoris, regni dignitate quæ ad Reges pertinet, necnon & omnia loca, quæ cum auxilio cœleſtis gratiæ de Sarracenorum manibus eripueris, in quibus ſibi non poſſunt Chriſtiani Principis circumpoſiti jus vendicare, Excellentiæ tuæ concedimus, & autoritate Apoſtolicâ confirmamus.* y mas abaxo: *Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino hominum liceat perſonam tuam,*

tuam, aut hæredum tuorum, vel etiam præfatum regnum temerè perturbare, aut ejus poſſeßiones auferre, vel ablatas retinere, minuere, aut aliquibus vexationibus fatigare. Lo miſmo contienen las confirmaciones de otros ſummos Pontifices; y es coſa laſtimoſa que eſte buen Monge eſcrivieſſe de ſuerte que para convencerle non ſean meneſter mas argumentos que las miſmas palabras de las bulas que el trae, las quales eſtan deciendo que dan, y confirman titulo, y dignidad de Rey con las honras, tierras, y gobierno, que todo es temporal. Del miſmo genero es la inſtancia que hace fundado en que dicen aquellas bulas: *Super hīs quæ conceſſa ſunt, Deo propitio, pro injuncti nobis Apoſtolatus officio defendemus.* Argumenta: *Defendit Apoſtolatus officio, non gladio; ergo Pontifici Luſitania ſubditur eccleſiaſticè, non ſæculariter, hoc eſt orationibus tueri non gladio.* Haſe viſto tal gloſa? no advierte que el Pontifice para dar eſtes titulos, tiene ſolamente la juriſdicion indirecta en orden al ſpiritual que ya le ha confeſſado; y eſta es claro no pertenecerle ſino como á Pontifice; y como tal la exercita no con eſpada de ſeglar, ſino con cenſuras, y otras armas eccleſiaſticas; conforme

conforme al officio del Apoſtolado; mas eſſe no quita, antes mueſtra que dió dignidad temporal como ſummo Pontifice, y que ſegun el proprio officio la ha de defender, porque ſecularmente no tiene juriſdicion en las tierras agenas. Y ſi toda via perſiſte ſu Paternidad en que el Papa, dando titulos de Rey, no ſe extende a mas que a ſpiritualidades, perſuada con eſto al rey Catholico que tenga ſolamente las Indulgencias de Rey de Navarra (pues no la poſſee ſino por el derecho que le dió *Iulio* 2.) que yo confio acabar con el rey Chriſtianiſſimo que ſe contente con lo temporal de aquel reyno (pues tiene baſtantes indulgencias por rey de Francia) ceſſará deſte modo grande parte de las guerras que tanto dano hacen a la Chriſtiandad, y es el mejor arbitrio que ſepuede dar en Madrid, Y múi de religioſo. Ni puede recurrir a diverſidad de ragon entre una, y otra conceſsion; quando en la de Portugal ſe fundaron los ſummos Pontifices en las donaciones de los reyes de Leon, en la palabra de Chriſto ſenor nueſtro, en la acclamacion de los vaſſallos; en la ampliacion de la Chriſtiandad que el valor Portuguez dilatava contra el poder *Mahometano*, y en otras cauſas

tanto

tanto mas juſtas que la de Navarra (nacida de informaciones ſinieſtras que ſe dieron al Papa) que ſe hace ſervicio conſiderable a ſu Mageſtad Catholica en no diſputarla, ni compararla con la nueſtra.

Queda, pues, deſvancido el alegâdo titulo del feudo caduco; y la corona de Portugal fundada en D. *Alfonſo Henriques* no ſolo por la donacion del rey ſu aguelo, ſino por la conceſsion del miſmo Diós; acclamacion de los pueblos; y loque mas es pleiteado el punto con los reyes de Leon, y ſentenciada la cauſa irrevocablemente.

PARTE II.

Convence el ſegundo titulo que propone Juan Caramuel, Pagina 72. con eſtas palabras.

Es verdadero Rey de Portugal D. *Philippe* el grande por ſer Rey de Aragon, y deſcendiente de D. Ines de Caſtro excluyendo a D. *Juan* el baſtardo maeſtre de Aviz, que a peſar de los herederos legitimos ſe intituló Rey de Portugal.

Trata de probarlo en todo el libro 3. y lo toca lib. 1. tit. D. Pedro, y tit. D. Iuan 1. y lib. 3. ca. 2. en las reſpueſta a la objeccion 2ª.

8 DEriva eſte derecho des de el ano 1383 en que murió el Rey D. *Fernando*; y ſiendo

y ſiendo paſſados 259 anos, militan en el las raçones de Caduco que apuntamos y a ſobre el primero *n.1.*

Pero por ſatisfacion mas complida, perdonandole la antiguedad, quiero convencerle por otros fundamentos.

9. Y primero ſuppongo que D. *Beatris* reyna de Caſtilla hija unica del rey D. *Fernando* de Portugal, fue excluida del reyno por quarto raçones; 1ª por que, era baſtarda avida en D. Leonor Teles de Meneſes, ſiendo aun vivo ſu marido *Juan Lorenço* de Cunha, aquien el Rey la tomó por fuerça. 2ª, porque, (aun en caſo que fueſſe legitima) caſó con eſtrangero, que era el Rey de Caſtilla, ſiendo lei de Portugal que la hija que ubieſſe de heredar la corona caſaſſe con Portuguez, y que no fueſſe el Reyno a eſtrano como ſe contiene en las cortes de Lamego, de que trataremos quando convençamos el titulo 4 *n.* 3ª; porque aunque los Portugueſes forçados de la autoridad de ſu Rey, paſſando por eſtos defetos, la nombraron Princeſa, y la caſaron con el Rey de Caſtilla, capitularon luego que el no entraria en Portugal haſta tener hijo heredero de D.

Beatriz, y pudieron apartarse de qualquiera juramento, que, siendo condicional, y no observandose las condiciones, se resolvia; antes nunca devrian admittir la hija bastarda, y casada con estrangero en prejuisio de tercero, que, como pariente, y natural del reyno, tendria derecho a la succesion. 4ª, Porque en aquel tiempo los Castellanos eran scisimaticos (como, demas de las Chronicas, lo refiere *Bald. Cons.* 271. *in Princ. vol.* 1.) raçon bastante, quando no sobraran las otras, para huir su compania, quãty mas su dominio. Vea *Caramuel* si tuvieron los Castellanos causas tan justas para privar de la corona a D. *Juanna* hija unica, y legitima de su rey D. *Henrique* 4. a viendola jurado por Princesa en cortes de los tres estados juntos solo para esto en Madrid el ano 1461; siendo los primeros que la juraron sus tios los infantes D. *Alº*, y D. *Isabel*, que fue despues quien le quitó el reyno; y despues en presencia de todos los senores de Castilla la declaró otra ves el padre por su successora con assistencia del Cardenal de Albi Frances, embiado por el Rey de Francia *Luis* 11. para hacer algunas averiguaciones en la materia;

teria ; como todo cuenta *Garibai. lib. 17. cap.* 24. y ultimamente la nombró heredera en ſu teſtamento, como eſcrive el miſmo *Garibai, e Hyeronimo Curita.* Yo no alcanço raçon porque eſte religioſo eſcritor accuſa los otros de perjuros no viendo la trabe en ſu ojo, como manda Chriſto ſenor nueſtro ; ſino es que pienſa que los Portugueſes ſon mas Chriſtianos, que los Caſtellanos, y que aſsi tienen maior obligacion de guardar los juramentos.

Pero, como quiera que fueſſe, la reyna de Caſtilla *D. Beatriz* no dexó hijos, y aſsi oy no ay que tratar de ſu derecho.

10 Argumenta pues el Autor que vamos convenciédo que ſuppueſto que de el rey D *Fernando* no uvo deſcendientes, perteneció el reyno a ſu hermana D. *Beatris* hija del rey D. *Pedro*, y de ſu muger 2ª D. *Inez* de Caſtro ; de la qual D. *Beatris* procedieron los reyes de Aragon, de quien es nieto el Catholico rey D. *Philippe.*

11. Supponiendo que D. *Inez* fue muger legitima del Rey D. *Pedro*, ſe podia preguntar a eſte eſcritor, pues en el arbol que trae confieſſa que de la dicha D. *Beatriz* fueron hermanos de

padre, y madre los infantes D. *Iuan*, y D. *Dionysio*, en que jurisprudencia halló que la hermana hembra les devia ser preferida ? O en que peccaron los desçendientes legitimos que oy conocemos destos infantes, maiormente los de D. *Iuan*, que el mismo nombra, (aunque se olvidó de los Deças, siendo los principales, por venir de D. *Fernando* Deça su hijo del primer matrimonio que celebró con *D. Maria* Teles de Meneses) para no hacer alguna alegacion en su favor ? con demasiada prissa escrivió esta respuesta, pues que ni tiempo tuvo para trasladar en ella la satisfacion que pretendió dar a este punto en su *Philippe lib. 3. art. 2. n. 28. in dubio incidenti, § dico 4.* que fue decir (alo que colijo por que su cavilacion no lo declara bien) que al tiempo que se devolvió la succesion eran muertos los dichos Infantes, y tambien la dicha Infanta D. *Beatris*; y que devien doſe recurrir alos descendientes de todos, se hallava en mas proximo grado al ultimo posseeder D. *Urraca*; (otros la llaman D. *Leonor*) cognominada, la rica hembra, hija de la dicha Infanta D. *Beatris*, y ascendiente del rey Catholico. Pero quiçá no trasladó

ladó esta satisfacion porque reconoció ser tal que se corrió de repetirla; y tuvo raçon; porque o considera ultimo posseedor del Reyno al Rey D. *Fernando*; o a su hija D. *Beatriz* Reyna de Castilla; si considera a D. *Fernando*, (como parece que muestra en el lugar citado *§. dico* 1°. ibi *dico* 1°. *ultimum possessorem Regni fuisse Ferrandum* 1um,) al tiempo de su muerte Vivian los dichos infantes, como es notorio, y el lo confiessa *lib.* 1. *tit. Ioannes* 1. *§ fuerat*, y assi no ay duda que el maior, que fue D. *Iuan*, dexava su derecho a los descendientes legitimos que oy tiene, y no entraron en el los de la hermana. Si considera ultima posseedora la reyna de Castilla, enganase por lo que queda apuntado *n.* 9, y aun en caso que lo ubiera sido, quien reveló a este Autor que quando ella murió era mas proxima D. *Vrraca*, y eran ya muertos todos los hijos del infante D. *Iuan?* no lo prueba sino con decirlo; y porque el lo dice no lo creemos; antes sabemos lo contrario, y de todo puede imaginarse que simula escrivir por el sereniſsimo Rey de Castilla, y hace las partes del algun descendiente del dicho Don *Iuan*.

12. Por si a caso es esto le traigo ala memoria

moria que al tiempo que murió el Portuguez rey D. *Fernando* se hallauan en Castilla sus dos hermanos D. *Iuan*, y D. *Dyonisio* presos por el Castellano (como confiessa su *Philippe li. 1. tit. Ioannes 1. § fuerat*) porque passando a Portugal no le hiciessen competencia (tan antiguo es en aquellos principes este modo de tirannia, que oy usan tambien con el sereniſsimo Infante *D. Duarte* hermano de nuestro Rey) con loqual los Portugueses se vieron forçados a elegir por defensor del reyno contra la violencia de Castilla al *Infante D. Juan* maestre de Avis, hermano de los otros aunque ilegitimo; hijo del rey D. *Pedro*; el qual, sin ambicion de reynar, sentia tan de veras la prision de su hermano D. *Juan*, que por mas animar el pueblo a procurar su libertad, le hiso pintar en los estādartes (como oy deuriamos pintar anuestro *Infante Don Duarte*) cargado de grillos, y cadenas de la manera que estava en *Castilla*; y viendose que no avia remedio para sacarle de poder de los enemigos; (adonde finalmente murió, y su hermano D. *Dyonisio*) fue levantado por rey el maestre de Avis *D. Iuan*, cuy

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as eminentes virtudes eran dignas de maior imperio; obligando la neceſsidad publica a buſcar quien governaſſe como dueno; y conſiderandoſe tambien que el otro infante D. *Iuan* era llamado a la corona mas por el amor del pueblo, que lo amava con extremo, que por in dubitable derecho, por que (como confieſſa el miſmo autor contrario) no era cierto, ſer hijo legitimo del Rey D. *Pedro*, pues avia queſtion ſobre ſi ſu padre celebrara matrimonio con ſu madre D. *Ines* de Caſtro, o en caſo que lo celebraſſe, ſi avia precedido baſtante diſpenſacion del impedimento de aver le ella ſacado un hijo de pila; por los quales, y otros fundamentos el in ſigne juriſta *Iuan das Regras* en las cortes de Coimbra probó largamente que del Rey D. *Fernando* no avia que dado hijo o pariente que pudieſſe ſuccederle legitimamente; y deſpues de madura deliberacion lo declararon aſsi los tres eſtados del Reyno en las dichas cortes, y que por aver vacado la corona elegian Rey al dicho Maeſtre de Aviz, de que hicieron inſtrumento publico que oy ſe conſerva en el archivo Real *lib.* 4. *Delos derechos reales a fol.* 4. y todo cuenta la chronica del

miſmo Rey *part.* 1. *cap.* 179. *con los ſeguientes* fundandoſe la eleccion en la dotrina vulgar de que, no aviendo legitimo heredero del ultimo Rey, buelve a los pueblos el poder que de derecho natural les competia para eſcoger quien les guovierne.

13. Por todo loqual el ſummo Pontifice *Bonifacio* 9. con plenario conocimiento de la materia confirmó aquella eleccion, como tan juſtificada; aſsi lo confieſſa *Caramuel en ſu Philippe lib.* 3. *quæſt.* 3. *art.* 2§. *ex hiſcolligo*; ſin que ſea de momento la reſpueſta que dà a la bula; porque es la miſma de que hemos tratado *En la* 1. *p. n* 7. §. *no ſe atrevió*, y alli hemos viſto de que qualidad ſea.

14. Parece finalmente que el miſmo Dios obonó la cauſa; pues en la famoſa batalla de Aljubarrota (enque el pleito quedó decidido por armas como ya lo eſtava por raçones) teniendo el Rey de Caſtilla treinta mil hombres, ſegun el padre *Ant. Devaſconcelos en ſus anecephal. in Ioan* 1. *n.* 6. (que es el que menos dice, por que otros affirman que eran muchos mas) y los Portugueſes ſolos ſeis mil, y quinientos, como dice Maris *Dial.* 4. *cap.* 1. o dose mil conforme

forme la opinion que mas los ſube; ſe puſo el Caſtellano en huyda dexando muertos dies mil de los ſuyos, como eſcrive ſu Marianna *lib.8. cap.9.* otros affirman que doce mil; en que dice Illeſcas, tambien Caſtellano, *Hiſt. Pon.2. part. lib.6. cap* 19. que entró la Flor de Caſtilla, y perdiendo el eſtandarte Real, muchas banderas, y riquiſsimos deſpojos. *Caramuel* en varias partes llama eſto *Ser los Portugueſes mas felices*, y eſta felicidad tuvieron en todas las guerras con Caſtilla; y el mundo, que toma las coſas mas en grueſſo, le llama en buen romance, *Ser mas Valiente*; porque de ordinario no ſuceden eſtas felicidades, ſino a los valeroſos; ſucceſſo fue maravilloſo; que piamente ſe puede atribuir ala devocion conque el Rey Portuguez para entrar en las empreſas ſolia poner ſus armas a los pies de la imagen de nueſtra ſenora que llaman de *la oliveira*, en Guimarães, y pediendola licencia las tomaua, como cuenta Gaſpar Eſtaço *en las antiguedades de Portugal, cap.48. y 50.* y al zelo con que antes de la batalla hiſo preces publicas; y armó los ſoldados conlos ſacramentos de la igleſia, como leemos en el dicho *Anton. de Vaſconcelos. Cara-*

muel en ſu Philippe lib. 3. Quæſt. 2. art. 2. n. 17. reprueba grandemente eſtas acciones virtuoſas, deciendo que fuera mejor no hacerlas quien uſarpava un reyno ; *y lib.* 1. *tit. Ioannes* 1. Se burla, como ſuele, de lo que (demas de los hiſtoriadores Portugueſes) cuenta ſu Garibay. *P.* 4. *lib.* 34. *cap.* 33. que al tiempo de las alteraciones que uvo entre los dichos Reyes, *D. Iuan de Portugal*, y *D. Juan de Caſtilla*, una nina de ocho meſes Levantandoſe en la cuna dió vozes : *Portugal, Portugal por el Rey D. Iuan de Portugal.* Reconoſco que ni devemos creer milagros facilmene ; ni atribuir los buenos ſuceſſos con credulidad demaſiada a las buenas obras antecedentes, como a cauſa infalible ; pues Dios muchas veſes los dexa correr por otras vias ; pero quien totalmente pienſa que todo vá por caminos naturales, o por caſo de fortuna viene aſer de aquellos herejes que negavan en ſemejantes materias la providencia divina, contra quienes eſcrivió el docto Salviano obiſpo de Marſella aquel elegante libro *de vero Dei judicio.* Y aviendo de inclinar a alguna parte, todo hombre entendido ſe dexará llevar antes

de

de los prodigiosos fines que arguyen ser guiados por Dios, que de la fantasia de *Caramuel*; hemos visto al rey Portuguez no solo vencedor de los Castellanos, sino tambien victorioso de la parte Principal de Berberia, y alfin en largos anos de vida uno de los Principes mas glorioſos que vieron muchos siglos; por el contrario al Castellano no solo vencido, si no tambien muerto en lo Florido de su edad de la caida de un cavallo miserablemente.

15 Quien finalmente no alaba la consciencia de los Castellanos? que pareciendoles que el reyno pertenecia al *Infante D. Juan*; y que los Portugueses querian darselo, lo tuvieron preso por impedirlo; y ahora, porque su Rey desciende del (como si esto le diera mas derecho que tenia entonces,) ellos mismos que le mataron en prision porque no reinasse, accusan de injusticia a los que peleavan por su libertad para darle el reyno; consídere el P^e. *Caramuel* mas de espacio quien, conforme su Theologia, fue culpado en aquello.

Assi queda convencido el segundo titulo de D. *Inez de Castro*, pues ni el Rey Catholico es su heredero; ni los descendientes della tu-

vieron derecho contra *D. Iuan* maestre de Aviz electo Rey juridicamente, y por tal confirmado por el Papa.

PARTE

PARTE III.

Convence el tercer titulo que propone Iuan Caramuel, paginá 72. con eſtas palabras.

Es verdadero Rey de Portugal Don *Philippe* el Grande por ſer Rey de Caſtilla, y deſcendiente de la reyna D. *Maria* hija de *Alfonſo* el 4. muger de *Alfonſo* Rey de Caſtilla; contra los ſucceſſores del miſmo *D. Iuan* el baſtardo.

Trata de probarlo en todo el libro 4. *y lo toca lib.* 1. *tit. D. Iuan* 1. § y dado caſo.

16 ESte titulo tiene la miſma enfermedad de vejez que hemos hallado en los precedentes; pero, como ya me diſ-

diſpuſe a dar ſatisfacion a todo loque el reverendo Padre guſtó de proponer; digo, brevemente.

17. Que o conſidera la ſucceſsion en el tiempo que murió el *Rey* D. *Fernando*, que fue el ano de 1383. o en el tiempo que murió ſu hija D. *Beatriz*, y en qualquiera deſtos los Caſtellanos tenian deſpojada de la corona de Caſtilla a D. Conſtancia, hija legitima, y heredera de ſu *Rey* D. *Pedro* que mataron en el anno de 1369. en la qual dicen en eſte titulo que eſtava el derecho de ſucceder en Portugal que derivan al *Rey* Catholico ſu deſcendiente; y es coſa graciosa que accuſen a los otros de no averla llamado a la herencia de un primo de ſu padre (en caſo negado que le perteneciera) quando ellos la deſpojavan de la herencia de ſu padre miſmo.

18. Pero porque no pareſca que buſcamos diſculpa de delicto en el exemplo de otro ageno, aunque maior; reſponderemos mas en forma; y eſta pediaque primeramente excluyeramos a los *Reyes* de Caſtilla deſta accion por deſcendientes de la dicha *Reyna* D. *Maria*; por quanto, en caſo que D. *Iuan* maeſtre de Aviz

no

no fuera Rey legitimo, la ſucceſsion de *D. Fernando*, o de ſu hija *D. Beatriz*, ſe devolvia al otro infante *D. Iuan* hermano de D. *Fernando*, (como argumentó *Caramuel* en el titulo precedente, adonde tambien moſtramos que los Reyes de Caſtilla no ſon ſus herederos aun en caſo que el fueſſe legitimo) y eſtando la linea deſte D. *Juan* en primer lugar no ſe puede bolver atras a la linea de D. *Maria* (herma na de ſu padre) tanto mas remota.

19. Con todo ſupponiendo que el dicho D. *Iuan* fue ilegitimo, y que como tal no ſuccedia a ſu hermano; que ſon los terminos en que procede el argumento deſte titulo; reſpondemos que ni entonces podia ſer admitti da la dicha D. *Maria*, ni ſus deſcendientes per conſequencia; por que como apuntamos ya *n.* 8. y trataremos largamente *n.* por ley del Reyno queda inhabil para la corona la princeſa que ſe caſa con eſtrangero, como lo era el Rey D. *Alonſo* 11. de Caſtilla, con quien D. *Maria* ſe caſo.

20. Iuntoſe a eſto el deſtierro en que andava fuera de Heſpana D. *Conſtancia*, nieta heredera de D. *Maria*, el qual y ſer muger la in-

commodava para ser llamada a defender Portugal de las armas de Castilla, aun en caso que los Portugueses por alguna via de gracia quisi essen ponerla en el trono de sus aguelos; y por las raçones notadas en el titulo antecedente *n.*12. fue electo Rey D. *Iuan* Maestre de Auiz tan justificadament que assi lo pronunció el summo Pontifice segun hemos visto *n.*13. y tan sin contradiccion de la dicha D. *Constancia*, que ella, y su marido *Iuan* duque de Lancastre se trataron siempre con amistad mũi estrecha con aquel rey haciendo guerra al Castellano, y lo que es mas, cuenta Maris *Dial.*4. *cap.*1. *in fine*, *y otros*, que offereciendo el Duque al Rey por muger D. *Catalina* su hija, y de la dicha D. *Constancia*, con quien se pudiera suplir qual quiera falta de derecho, (como quiso suplirlo a la corona de Castilla el rey D. *Henrique* 3. casandos e con aquella princesa) El rey de Portugal escogió antes casar con la otra hija del mismo duque; que fue la reyna D. *Philippa* hija de Blanca duquesa proprietaria de Lancastre primera muger de *Iuan*: (y no segunda como dice Maris) segun escriven *Elias Reinero in genealogico part.* 5. *Stemate Regum Angliæ*; *Andre*

Andre du Cheſne hiſtoire d' Angleterre, livre 16. y todas las Chronicas de aquel reyno ; buen argumento de que el Portuguez no temia oppoſicion alguna por parte de D. *Conſtancia.*

21 Aſſi ningun Rey de Caſtilla, o Aragon adſpiró jámas a ſerlo de Portugal por eſte titulo, ni por los precedentes ; ni ſe intituló alguno, rey de Portugal ; como harian ſin duda ſe imaginaſſen tener el menor derecho, y como ſe llamaron, y llaman oy reyes de Hyeruſalem, y los de Francia reyes de Navarra, los de Inglaterra reyes de Francia, y es coſtumbre entre todos los Principes. Dice *Caramuel in Philip. lib.* 2. *Queſt.* 1. *Art.* 2. *n.* 3. & 4. Que ya en tiempo de D. *Alfonſo Henriques* el Rey de Leon ſe tratava como rey de Portugal ; para probarlo trae dos autoridades contra ſi ; una del *P.e Fr. Antonio Brandão Monarchi Luſit. pag.* 3. *lib.* 8. *cap.* 9. Ibi *intentou el Rey de Leaõ & Caſtella de o fazer ſeu tributario.* Queria hacerlo tributario nuevamente, porque no le devia coſa alguna ; bien lo mueſtran las palabras. Otra que refiere de *Fr.* Prudençio de Sandoval *Chron. de*

Alfonso 7. cap. 36. En que escrive que aquel rey determinó entrar en Portugal, y no dexar la guerra hasta *conquistar el reyno* Le llama, *reyno*, y no *provincia de Leon, o Castilla.* Y dice, *conquistar*; que es tomar de nuevo; buena prueba de que no lo avia perdido por averse levantado *D. Alfonso Henriques* con el, como se finge; replica (como si hablara en Guinea:) *Illud verbum conquistar, est Latiné, recuperare*, y assi traduce: *decernens illac in Lusitaniam ingredi, nec bello valedicere, quousq; hoc regnum recuperasset.* Y siendo notoria, por los diccionarios pueriles, la diferencia entre *conquistar*, y *recuperar*, es acusado generalmente por varios caminos; pero la cortesia devida a su estado monachal obliga a attribuir esto antes a ignorancia, que a otra causa mas reprobada.

Dice tambien *en el Philippe lib. 3. Quæst. 3. Art. 2. n. 27. Y en la respuesta al manifiesto lib. 3. cap. 2. n.* 28. Que *D. Fernando* el Catholico guerreó contra *D. Alfonso* s. de Portugal para conquistar aquel Reyno como suyo, y que se llamava Rey del; es poca, o ninguna noticia de las historias; pues no se puede

puede decir que ſi ſupiera la verdad, eſcriviria ſin reſpeto de Dios, ni del mundo coſa tan notoriamente contraria a ella; y ſi entendiera la lengua Portugueſa no alegaria ciegamente para probar ſu intento a *Mariz*, *Dialogo* 4. *cap.* 9. pues es contra el, contando bien claro, y lo ſaben los medianamente leydos, que elRey de Portugal era el que queria echar fuera de Caſtilla a D. *Fernando* que con ſu muger D. *Iſabel* avia uſurpado aquel reyno a la verdadera reyna D. *Iuanna*, cuyas partes favorecia el Portuguez, haciendo el Caſtellano guerra ſolamente defenſiva; y aſsi la batalla, en que los reyes ſe hallaron, y en que el principe de Portugal quedó vencedor, ſe dió junto de la ciudad de Toro dentro de Caſtilla que el Portuguez *D. Alfonſo* iva conquiſtando teniendo ya muchas placas en ſu poder, y porque D. *Alfonſo*, por eſtar deſpoſado con la dica D. *Iuanna*, ſe intitulava Rey de Caſtilla, ſe intituló tambien *D. Fernando* Rey de Portugal; titulo que dexó luego que D. *Alfonſo* deſiſtió del ſuyo por las pazes que ſe concertaron en las Alcacevas villa de Portugal en que elRey D. *Fernando* moſtró bien ſer el

Reo en aquel pleito, pues las compró con pagar al rey Portuguez veinte cuentos de maravedis en ſatisfacion de las deſpeſas de la guerra; de mas de reſtituir a ſu gracia, y bienes todos los Caſtellanos que ſe avian paſſado a Portugal; como todo refiere Rui de Pina *en la Chronica del miſmo D. Alfonſo 5.*

De peor qualidad es lo que eſcrive nueſtro Autor *en el citado lib. 3. cap. 2. n. 29.* deciendo *el prudente Philippe tuvo ſus pretenciones a la corona Portugueſa, aun en vida del Rey D. Sebaſtian*; y como no las ſepamos, ni fundamento que uvieſſe para tener las, acredita eſte buen varon lo que, quiçá con paſsion, publicó aquel Autor erudito del *fora velhaco, c' eſt adire, la liberté de Portugal*, de que *Philippe 2.* con ambicion de tiraniſar la corona Portugueſa, aviendo prometido a D. *Sebaſtian* ſinco mil hombres, y ſincoenta galeras para la jornada de Africa, *Les luy refuſa quand ce vint au fait, & au prandre pour parvenir a ſon but, & s' accorda avec Muley Maluco, prometant par le traitté qu' il fit avec luy, d' abandonner du tout le pauure roy; & pour cet effect le Maure luy avoit promis certaines villes en Barbarie.* Y continua que en eſta

esta conformidad el Rey *Philippe* prohibió por edicto que ninguno de sus sujetos fuesse a aquel viage; y lo confirma con el Conestagio, *lib.* 2. *fol.* 34. *pag.* 1. Que dice que solo el capitan *Francisco de Aldana* pudo alcançar licencia del Rey Catholico para ir acompanar al Rey *D. Sebastian* y acrecienta el traductor Francez del dichó libro *Fóra velhaco* que D. *Philippe* hiciera matar a D. *Sebastian*; intento que ya avia descubierto su secretario de estado *Antonio Perez* en sus escritos-cosas verdaderamente indignas de que se crean de un Monarcha, y tan Christiano, y las repito con miedo, porque ni imaginarse pueden de un tal Principe; pero que pensara un arrojado quando, teniendo noticia de lo que escrivieron aquellos apassiona dos, leyere el inadvertido *Caramuel*, que, con palabras prenadas, cuenta que *Philippe tuvo sus pretenciones* (sin declarar quales fueron) *a la Corona Portugueſa, aun en vida del Rey D. Sebastian?*

Assi está mostrado que la reyna de Castilla D. *Maria* no tuvo a Portugal derecho alguno que pudiesse dexar a sus descendientes, como

la

la a legacion deſte titulo 3. fingia. y el lector me perdonará la prolixidad con que he reſpondido haſta aguy a tres propoſiciones de coſas tan caducas, attento a que no fue mia la culpa de reſucitarlas, ſino de quien, no ſatisfecho con averlas eſcrito, pide con quexas que le reſpondamos.

PARTE

PARTE IV.

Convence el quarto titulo que propone Iuan Caramuel, paginá 72. con eſtas palabras.

Es verdadero Rey de Portugal Don *Philippe* el Grande por ſer Rey de Eſpana, y heredero del prudente *Philippe* que competió en igual grado, y mejor ſexo con la *Infanta D. Catalina* aguela del Duque de Bergança.

Trata de probarlo en todo el libro 5. y lo toca lib. 1. tit. D. Philippe 1.

22 ALfin hemos llegado a eſte titulo (que es el todo) por maſque *Caramuel*, con diſcredito de ſu cauſa, lo recuſava; deſechos ſon

los impedimentos que opponia; claro está que el no lo confessará; pero que importa? conoceranlo los doctos sin passion, para quien solamente escrivo.

Tratose de suceder al Rey D. *Henrique* que no dexó descendientes, ni hermano vivo; concurrieron (de mas de otros en que ahora no ay question) la Senora D. *Catalina* Duquesa de Bragança, y D. *Philippe* 2. Rey de Castilla en igual grado, por ser entrambos sobrinos derechos del defunto; s. la Senora D. *Catalina*, hija del Infante D. *Duarte* su hermano; y D. *Philippe* 2; hijo de la imperatriz D. *Isabel* su hermana tambien.

23. Ala primera vista parece que uno, y otro deven ser excluidos de la via de succesion; porque en las cortes de Lamego referidas se dispuso: *cap.5. Si mortuus fuerit Rex sine filiis, si habeat fratrem sit Rex in vitá ejus; & cum fuerit mortuus, non erit Rex filius ejus, si non fecerint eum episcopi, & procurantes, & nobiles curiæ Regis, si fecerint Regem, erit Rex, si non fecerint, non erit Rex.* Y como estos pretendientes eran ya hijos de hermanos del Rey, parece que no tenian lugar sino fuesse por eleccion

Caramuel

Caramuel trasladó estes capitulos *en su Philippe lib.2. quæst.1. art.4.* y con todo no advertió en esta duda que se offerece a qualquiera entendimento mediocre ; o, si advertió en ella, la calló porque sabe que el Rey *Philippe* 2. no tenia buen partido en eleccion ; y no halló respuesta al argumento, que hallara mũi facilmente si tuviera alguna noticia de derecho ; y es que :

Segun principios assi como las leyes se introdusen por el uso de los pueblos, assi se abrrogan con tacito consentimiento dellos mismos por el non uso. *L. de quibus* 32. *in fine ff. de legib.* ibi *Quare rectißimé etiam illud receptum est, ut leges non solùm suffragio legislatoris, sed etiam tacito consensu omnium per desuetudinem abrogentur.* Lo que confirma, y declara largamente *la glosa ally ; & in §. penult. per textum ibi verbo, consensu, Inst. de jure natur.* Si há avido, o no non uso bastante, y costumbre en contrario para abrrogar la Ley, queda (segun la mejor opinion) en arbitrio del juez, *Menoch. de arbitrar. casu* 81. *n.4. & de præsumpt. lib.2. præsumpt.8. n.12.* Y deviendo este ser regulado por derecho, como es claro, diremos

que para juſgarſe ſer abrogada la ley por *non uſo* baſta que en caſos occurrentes ſe aya platicado lo contrario dos veſes, *Vt poſt Butrium, & Alex. ſcripſit Aſinius in Praxi de ord. judic §.22. cap.16. n.5. e refere Menoch. d. n.12.* Y es notorio que en Portugal, ſin platicarſe jamas aquella ley, uvo no ſolos dos, ſino quatro actos contrarios aella; 1. quando, ſucediendo al Rey D. *Sancho* 2. ſu hermano D. *Alfonſo* 3; ſuccedió a eſte ſu hijo D. *Tyonifio* por via hereditaria, no electiva. 2. Quando al Rey D. *Iuan* 2. ſucedió D. *Manuel* ſu primo por la miſma via; 3. quando ſe declaró que muriendo el Rey D. *Manuel* ſin deſcendientes, era ſu heredero en la corona el duque de Braganca D. *Jayme* ſu primo; 4. quando al Rey D. *Sebaſtian* ſuccedió por el miſmo titulo D. *Henrique* hermano de ſu aguelo; de donde ſe ve que los pueblos, (aviendo obſervado las leyes 7. y 8. de aquellas cortes que excluyen de la ſucceſsion la hija del rey caſada con eſtrangero; pues una vez ſola que aconteció el caſo en D. *Beatriz* hija de D. *Frnando*, no la admittieron por eſta raçon, de mas de otras ya referidas,) abrogaron (como podian) por tantos actos contrarios

trarios aquella ley 5. moſtrando ſu conſentimiento per el facto, como ſe mueſtra la voluntad. *L. Paulus ff. rem rat. haberi*; *Menoch. de præſumpt. lib.* 3. *præſ.* 57. *n.* 11. *adonde alega otros.* Y ſiendo tan diverſas las leyes eſtablecidas en aquellas cortes, no es inconveniente que unas ſe abrrogaſſen, quedando otras en ſu vigor.

24. Tratando pues del caſo preſente porfia *Caramuel* que eſtando el rey *Philippe* 2. en igual grado con la Senora *D. Catalina* devia ſer preferido por el ſexo (y tambien por la maior edad, decia el miſmo rey ;) trae algunas pruebas que confeſſamos como vulgares ; pero proceden, y hablan expreſſamente en competencias de parientes mas remotos al ultimo poſſeedor, entre los quales no ay el beneficio que ſe llama *repreſentacion* ; cuya naturaleſa es, (como confieſſa *Caramuel in Philip. lib.* 5. *diſput.* 8, *queſt.* 2. *in princip. & art.* 4. *n.* 14.) ¶identificar la perſona del padre, y la del hijo, de modo que el hijo vivo viſte la perſona del padre muerto, y es tenido por el padre miſmo. y aſsi aviendo repreſentacion no ay duda que la Senora *Catalina*, repreſentando al Infante *D. Duarte* ſu padre, ſerá preferida al rey *Philippe*, como el

que para juſgarſe ſer abrogada la ley por *non uſo* baſta que en caſos occurrentes ſe aya platicado lo contrario dos veſes, *Ut poſt Butrium, & Alex. ſcripſit Aſinius in Praxi de ord. judic §.22. cap.16. n.5. e refere Menoch. d. n.12.* Y es notorio que en Portugal, ſin platicarſe jamas aquella ley, uvo no ſolos dos, ſino quatro actos contrarios aella; 1. quando, ſucediendo al Rey D. *Sancho* 2. ſu hermano D. *Alfonſo* 3; ſuccedió a eſte ſu hijo D. *Tyoniſio* por via hereditaria, no electiva. 2. Quando al Rey D. *Juan* 2. ſucedió D. *Manuel* ſu primo por la miſma via; 3. quando ſe declaró que muriendo el Rey *D. Manuel* ſin deſcendientes, era ſu heredero en la corona el duque de Braganca *D. Jayme* ſu primo; 4. quando al Rey *D. Sebaſtian* ſuccedió por el miſmo titulo *D. Henrique* hermano de ſu aguelo; de donde ſe ve que los pueblos, (aviendo obſervado las leyes 7. y 8. de aquellas cortes que excluyen de la ſucceſsion la hija del rey caſada con eſtrangero; pues una vez ſola que aconteció el caſo en *D. Beatriz* hija de *D. Frnando*, no la admittieron por eſta raçon, de mas de otras ya referidas,) abrogaron (como podian) por tantos actos contrarios

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infante *D. Duarte*, ſi viviera, ſeria preferido, por prerrogativa del ſexo, a ſu hermana la Imperatriz *D. Iſabel*, y por conſequencia a ſu hijo *Philippe*. Pende luego la deciſion de la cauſa de ſaber ſi en ella ay repreſentation?

25 *Caramuel en ſu Philippe lib. 5. Diſput. 8. Quæſt. 2.* argumenta que no: y largamente quiere probarlo por dos caminos; uno que en los reynos, como en los maioraſgos, no ay repreſentacion, ſino es que en ſu inſtituicion ſea expreſſamente admittida; y que como en la de Portugal no ay clauſula que expreſſamente la admitta, no deve en eſte reyno aver repreſentacion. Otro que antes ay leyes en Portugal que claramente excluyen la repreſentacion.

Para prueba de lo primero pone en el titulo del artigo 2. eſta aſſercion: *Repræſentationem excludi à maioratibus, niſi in eorum erectione admittatur.* Y deſpues que en aquel artigo pretendió probarla, continúa el ſilogiſmo en el principio del artigo 3. *Regna ſapiunt naturam maioratuum ac ideo eodem modo de his, & illis debes philoſophari; atqui in maioratibus non habet locum repræſentatio, niſi in inſtitutione admittatur.*

tur: ergo nec in Regnis; Atqui in inſtitutione Luſitanici non reperitur clauſula quæ illam admittat, igitur in Regno Luſitanico non debet cognoſci, admitti ve repræſentatio. Eſto miſmo, de que la repreſentacion per via de regla no tenga lugar proſigue en la raçon 3ª, 4ª, 5ª. y en *la* 6ª procura confirmarlo con exemplos de ſententias dadas, y *en el art.* 5. reſponde alos argumentos contrarios. Suppueſto lo referido, el docto Auctor del manifieſto que ſalió en nombre del Reyno de Portugal; *n.* 12. hablando de Caramuel, dice: *Todo ſeu intento he querer moſtrar que na ſucceſſaõ dos Reynos naõ ſe deve admittir repræſentaçaõ.* Enfadaſe notablemente Caramuel de que ſe dixeſſe eſto del; *en la reſpueſta al dicho manifieſto lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. *n.* 3; ſobre loqual *n.* 6. exclama con palabras mũi alo Caſtellano; y es lo bueno que para probar que no avia dicho tal, lo buelve adecir *d. n.* 3. *Concedo que ſea mi intento demoſtrar que la repreſentacion es del derecho nuevo, y que no tiene lugar en dignidades ſoberanas, ſi no ſe admittiere en ſu inſtituicion; niego lo contrario, que bien ſe que vale el beneficio de la repreſentacion en algunas partes, donde*

infante *D. Duarte*, si viviera, seria preferido, por prerrogativa del sexo, a su hermana la Imperatriz *D. Isabel*, y por consequencia a su hijo *Philippe*. Pende luego la decision de la causa de saber si en ella ay representation?

25 *Caramuel en su Philippe lib. 5. Disput. 8. Quæst. 2.* argumenta que no: y largamente quiere probarlo por dos caminos; uno que en los reynos, como en los maioraſgos, no ay representacion, sino es que en su institucion sea expressamente admittida; y que como en la de Portugal no ay clausula que expressamente la admitta, no deve en este reyno aver representacion. Otro que antes ay leyes en Portugal que claramente excluyen la representacion.

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de por ley expreſſa es admitido. Pues, Reverendo Padre, no es eſto negar la repreſentacion en los Reynos por via de regla, y concedarla ſolo en caſos eſpeciales? nadie lo negará ſi tiene juiſio; luego el manifieſto Portuguez no levantó falſo teſtimonio a ſu *Philippe*; el qual *d. q. 2. art. 2. n. 4.* declaró, *Fateor eſſe maioratus aliquos in quibus habeat locum repreſentatio, ſed hunc non ex communi jure, ſed ex inſtitutione ſingulari*; bien ſabemos, como dixe al principio deſte §, que *Caramuel* procura tambien que en Portugal aya leyes que excluyan la repreſentacion, pero ſuprimer fundamento es, que aunque no las uviera, la repreſentacion eſtava excluida por derecho commun; deſta doctrina nos reimos; el la propuſo, quiere negarla, y confieſſala; quien tiene la culpa de que el no perciba lo miſmo que eſcrive?

26 Reſolvamos el punto ſin embaraçarnos; Ay, conforme a reglas de derecho comun, repreſentacion en la ſucceſsion de los reynos, o no? Reſponde eſte Iuriſconſulto en los lugares citados, que no la ay, ſino es que ſu inſtituicion ſpecialmente la admitta.

Fal-

Falsissima conclusion; la verdadera es al revez; *En la succesßion de los Reynos, conforme alas reglas dederecho commun; (y tambien en los maioraſgos) ay repreſentacion, ſi no es que ſu inſtitucion ſpecialmente la excluya:* Bien encountrados eſtamos; veaſe quien prueba mejor loque dice. Vn lince, o un Argos con achas encendidas a medio dia no hallará en los libros de *Caramuel* que el alegue un ſolo Dotor en terminos, para probar expreſſamente con ſu autoridad que en los reynos no ſe dá repreſentacion per via de regla, los que trae, *D. Art. 2. y 3.* hablan en otras ſucceſsiones deque el argumenta para los reynos; y aviendo, como ay, muchos Dotores que tratan el miſmo caſo en los reynos, entra loque dicen el Cardenal *Mantica, de tacit & ambig. convent. lib. 4. tit. 1. n. 2. Gratian diſcept. tom. 2. cap. 335. ex n. 19. y otros que ally refiere*, que es de Dotor pobre valerſe de argumentos de ſemejantes, que ſolamente concluyen el grueſſo juizio de hombres rudes, y no el de los doctos, con quien ſolo tienen fuerça las deciſiones ſpecificas. Quanty mas que los Dotores que trae, y los argumentos que

de por ley expreſſa es admittido. Pues, Reverendo Padre, no es eſto negar la repreſentacion en los Reynos por via de regla, y concedarla ſolo en caſos eſpeciales? nadie lo negará ſi tiene juiſio; luego el manifieſto Portuguez no levantó falſo teſtimonio a ſu *Philippe*; el qual *d. q. 2. art. 2. n. 4.* declaró, *Fateor eſſe maioratus aliquos in quibus habeat locum repreſentatio, ſed hunc non ex communi jure, ſed ex inſtitutione ſingulari*; bien ſabemos, como dixe al principio deſte §, que *Caramuel* procura tambien que en Portugal aya leyes que excluyan la repreſentacion, pero ſuprimer fundamento es, que aunque no las uviera, la repreſentacion eſtava excluida por derecho commun; deſta doctrina nos reimos; el la propuſo, quiere negarla, y confieſſala; quien tiene la culpa de que el no perciba lo miſmo que eſcrive?

26 Reſolvamos el punto ſin embaraçarnos; Ay, conforme a reglas de derecho comun, repreſentacion en la ſucceſsion de los reynos, o no? Reſponde eſte Iuriſconſulto en los lugares citados, que no la ay, ſino es que ſu inſtituicion ſpecialmente la admitta.

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dellos forma, sacó de la alegacion de derecho que se hiso por parte de la Senora D. *Catalina*, (que refiere *in Philip. lib.* 5. *in proœm.* §.4. *n.*10.) la qual *queſt.*3. *ex n.*25. responde a essos argumentos, y muestra como aquellos dotores hablan en materias mũi differentes; pero este escritor usó de la traça que tuvieron algunos sectarios destos tiempos, fundando sus heregias en los argumentos que el doctisimo Cardenal *Belarmino* levantó en sus controvercias, y callando la solucion que el mismo propuso; no es mi intento hacer comparaciones, mas solamente declarar por este modo lo que *Caramnel* hiço; ni quiero repetir las respuestas que contiene la alegacion susodicha, por que gastar tiempo en esso fuera seguir el exemplo de quien se occupó en impertinencias; la sustancia consiste en mostrar los dotores que dicen y prueban, que la representacion ha lugar en la succesion de los Reynos, y esto en terminos terminantes, y specificos, por que lo de mas no concluye, y es de dotor pobre, como hablan, con otros, *Mantica*, y *Gratiano* en los lugares referidos.

27. Son los dotores de nuestra verdad *Oldrad.*

drad. conſ.224. Abb. Et omnes in cap. licet de voto; Guillielm. in cap. Rainuntius verbo, & uxorem nomine Adelaſiam, n.619. Alciat. lib.8. parerg.cap. 15. An. Gom. in L. 40. Tauri n. 65. Joan. Garc. de impenſ. cap. 16. n.16. Molin. de primogen. lib.3. cap.6. an.3. & 9. Coſt. de ſucceſſ. regni pag.164. Valaſc. de jure empht. lib.1. quæſt.50. n.2.8. & 12. Supponit indubitatum Bart' in Aut. poſt fratres C. de legit. hæred. como notan Aretin; Socin; y otros que refiere, y ſigue Valaſc. d. q.50. n.6. verſic. hanc; lo miſmo prueban muchiſsimos dotores que citan Tiraque. de jure primogen. quæſt.40. n.12. Ant. Gabr. lib.4.commun. tit. de ſucces. ab inteſt. concl. 2. an.16. Gam. deciſ.307, n,14, y la commun opinion de quá Gom.d.n.56 in fine; Peralta in rubr, de hæred. inſt. n.121. Cov. pract. cap. 38. n 6. verſ. undecimó; Coſta ſupra pag. 189. verſic. ſecundó; Rolandus in reſponſo pro Trivultiis,n.72. Burſat. conſ 67,n.13, lib.1, y ſe confirma con la platica de quá Iacobinus in tract, de feudis col,3, additio ad Alex. conſ 4, lib.4,Grammat deciſ.1, Capel. Toloſ. 433, & poſt Boer. Coſt. in d. verſio. ſecundó.

Aſsi ſe determinó en la ſucceſsion del reyno de Inglaterra, como refiere Bald. in L. ex hoc jure

ff *de juſt. & jure ; Afflict. in cap.* 1. *in prin. cip. n.* 117, *de nat. ſucceſſ. feudi*; *Gramat. deciſ.* 1, *n.* 17. *Coſt. ſupra pag.* 190, *Cujac. lib.* 2. *de feud. tit.* 11. Aſſi por el rey de Francia, como dice el miſmo *Gramat.y Tiraq. d.q.* 40, *n.* 13, Aſsi en Vngria ; ut per *eundem Tiraq. vbi proximé.* Aſsi en el ducado de Bretana, *refert Cujac. d. tit.* 11. aſsi en Aragon ; *Curita en los annal. lib.* 6, *cap.* 57. Eſtos exemplos juntó la dicha alegacion por parte de la Senora D. *Catalina*, *Quæſt.* 3, *n.* 17. y della por las miſmas palabras, por el miſmo orden, y con los miſmos Autores ſin mas ni menos un punto (ſino la traducciõ en latin) los traſladó *Caramuel en ſu Philippe lib.* 5, *diſp.*8. *q.*2, *art.* 5, *n.* 30, y quando el manifieſto de Portugal, *n.* 8, alega los proprios exemplos, dice con grande arrogancia Caramuel *en ſu reſpueſta, lib.* 5, *cap.* 2, *& con pertinacia* eſtas palabras *Alaba (amigo letor) la erudicion del que compuſo el manifieſto; ya ves que es verſado en hiſtorias de peregrinos reynos. Penetra con ſu obſervacion todo quanto ſe hizo en Francia, Inglaterra, Vngria, Aragon, y Bretana, y ſabe que en todos eſtos ſe há admittido el beneficio de la repreſen-*

ſentacion. Pero quien ſelo dixo? traſladó de mi Filippe la objeccion 2, del art. 5. de la Queſt. 2. de la diſput. 8. del lib. 5. Ay tal coſa? aviendo confeſſado *en el miſmo Philippe lib. 5, in proæm. § 4, n. 10, yen mil partes otras* que tiene el libro de la dicha alegacion, y aviendo la citado *en el præludio § in jure* con toda particularidad de quæſtiones, y numeros, y aviendo la traſladado al pie de la letra tan ſin disfarce, como hemos moſtrado *en el proæmio deſte papel n* querer que imaginemos que ſu erudicion diſcubre todo, y que los otros le traſladan? no; no creo yo en un Monge un atrevimiento tangrande; perſuadome aque habla tan confidiamente, porque, deſpues que traſladó de la dicha alegacion, quiçá por alguna enfermedad, o humor, ſe le metió en la cabeça que avia ſido el primer Autor de lo que avia traſladado; coſa es factible pues quaſi lo miſmo ſabemos que ſucedió al famoſo *Sancho Pança*; que (ſegun cuenta el verdadero hiſtoriador Miguel de Cervantes) aviendo eſte buen eſcudero inventado de ſi, y dicho al invencible Cavallero *Don Quixote de la Mancha* que la ſin par ulc inea del Toboſo eſtava en-

cantada, el miſmo, que ſabia que lo avia fingido, lo creyò deſpues de ſuerte, que ni el ſabio Merlin le podria diſſuadir dello. En el hombre de bien es mas fragil la naturaleſa, que la honra; y aſsi antes devemos creer en *Iuan Caramuel* qualquiera accidente, que penſar que tuvo tan demaſiada libertad. Proſigue, *Pues pobre de mi, ya que es corneja que ſe viſte de mis plumas, y ſe arma de mis objecciones: porque no pone tambien la reſpueſta que puſe?* Es como ſuia: *Nos non teneri ſubſcribere decretis peregrinis.* Como ſi los alegaramos por leyes; valemonos de ſu autoridad para moſtrar que en toda Europa ſe entiende ſer eſte el derecho commun; ſegun loqual fueron dadas aquellas ſentencias, pues no conſta de ley ſpecial. Contra los quales exemplos toda la erudicion de *Caramuel* no pudo hallar en contrario mas que la ſentencia que el ſummo Pontifice *Bonifacio* 8. dió en favor de *Roberto* Rey de Sicilia contra ſu ſobrino Carlos Rey de Vngria; y lo que ſe determinó en el Reyno de Caſtilla en favor de *D. Sancho* 4. contra ſu ſobrino; en los quales caſos ſe excluyó la repreſentacion; gracias a la alegacion citada, pues

(q.3.

q.3. n.8.) le moſtró eſtos exemplos, y Autores que los refieren, pero porque no trasladó tambien la ſatisfacion que ella contiene *ex n.49* ? ya diximos que ſigue la traça de los que ſacaron ſus opiniones de los argumentos de *Belarmino*; con todo repito la reſpueſta que aquella alegacion dá, por ver ſi hace apetito a *Caramuel* de alegrarnos con alguna inſtancia tan ingeniosa como ſuele.

Alo de Sicilia (demas de las reſpueſtas que dan *Bart. in auth. poſt fratres 2. C. de legit. hæred; Bald. in L. ſi viva C. de bon. Mat. Grammat. deciſ.1, a n,18, Coſt. pag.183,& 186*) ſe reſponde, que aquella ſentencia ſe fundó en clauſulas, y condiciones de la inveſtidura de aquel reyno que, contra lo diſpueſto en derecho commun, excluye repreſentacion; aſsi lo advierten *Belam.deciſ.723. n.8. Tiraq. de primogen. q. 40. n.16.* y no es buen argumento lo que ſe hiço por clauſula ſpecial, para lo que procede por derecho commun. *L. quodvero 14. cum ſeq. ff. de Legib.* A lo de Caſtilla ſe ſatisface con decir, que el rey D. *Alfonſo*, llamado el ſabio, hiço jurar por ſu heredero a D. *Sancho* 4. ſu hijo 2. excluyendo a ſu nieto D. *Alfonſo* de Lacerda hijo de

de D. *Fernando* ſu hijo maior ya muerto, no ſolo contra el derecho commun ya alegado, mas contra Leyes expreſſas de Caſtilla, de que trataremos *nel n. ſeguiente*; y como tal fue coſa mũi mal recebida en Heſpana, como refiere *Garibay lib.*13. *cap.*4. a crecentando *cap* 15. que en caſtigo de coſa tan mal echa permittió Dios que el miſmo ſu hijo le hicieſſe guerra, como tambien nota Curita *annal. lib.*4.*c.*15. y aſsi arrepentido el padre le desheredó en ſu teſtamento llamando al nieto, como cuenta ſu chronica *cap.*76; pero, porque ya eſtava en poſſeſsion del Reyno, no pudo el nieto quitarſelo por mas que hiço diligencias, y proteſtos, de que trata la dicha *Chron. cap.*65. *Curit.d.lib.*4. *cap.*10. *y lib.*5. *cap.*59. *Garibay d. lib.*13. *cap.*26. y finalmente, reynando ya D. *Fernando* hijo de D. *Sancho*, el Rey de Portugal D. *Dyoniſio*, y el Rey de Aragon D. *Iaimes* 2. los concordaron en que D. *Alfonſo* uvieſſe ciertos lugares, y dexaſe el titulo de rey; lo qual no fue ſentencia en rigor de derecho, ſino un arbitrio ſuppueſto el eſtado de las coſas en que ſeria impoſſible privar a D. *Fernando* del reyno; ſegun todo conſta de la chron. del miſmo D. *Fernando*

dinando cap.22. Curit. d. c.59. Eſtas ſon las raçones que nos pide *Caramuel en ſu reſpueſta lib.5. cap.1. n.7.* que le demos para probar que la excluſion del nieto fue injuſta; dice que la ſabiduria del rey D. *Alfonſo* es acclamada en toda Europa, y deve acordarſe que mas ſabio fue Salamon, y peccó; y que la ſabiduria de D. *Alfonſo* paró en blaſphemar, que ſi el ubiera creado el mundo, lo creara mas perfecto que lo creó Dios. triſte refugio es recurrir a una accion de un ſabio como eſte; y de que el miſmo en ſu teſtamento ſe arrepentió; accion finalmente cuya injuſticia anda en proverbio, con el derecho que los deſcendientes del Principe de Lacerda tienen a aquella corona.

Lo que mas es, *Caramuel in Philip. lib.5. diſput 4. queſt.3. art.1. & diſp.6. theorem 4 n.7. y en otros mil lugares aſsi de aquel tratado como de la reſpueſta a nueſtro manifieſto,* confieſſa y aun prueba ex profeſſo largamente (con los fundamentos que ſacó de la alegacion tantas veſes citada, *q.1 ex n.43.* que los reynos de Portugal por muerte del ultimo poſſeedor ſe defieren *jure* que llaman *hæreditario*; y ſi tuviera fundamento en derecho, viera que, aviendo con-

 feſſado

feſſado eſto, quedava confeſſando por neceſſaria conſequencia que en la tal ſucceſsion ay repreſentacion, induſida generalmente en las ſucceſsiones hereditarias por regla commun, *extx' in §. cum filius Inſt. de hæredit. quæ abint. def. auth. de hæred. ab int. ven. in princ. & in verſic. quia igitur junctis, §§. Seqq.* Será meneſter que ſe ponga mejor en la differentia que ay entre *jus hæreditarium, & jus ſanguinis*, y effectos que nacen della, y entonces deſdigaſe, y traiga argumentos para probar que eſte reyno no ſe defiere, ſino *jure ſanguinis* (como cuerdamente pretendieron los que negavan repreſentacion) y diremos que habla como letrado; y no tan ageno deſſo como ahora.

Aviendo, pues, moſtrado que de derecho commun ay repreſentacion en la ſucceſsion delos reynos, ſigueſe que lo miſmo es en Portugal, mientras no ſe moſtrare ley particular en contrario, porque las deſte reyno mandan expreſſamente que el derecho commun ſe guarde en loque no eſtubiere decidido por ellas. *Ord. lib. 3. tit. 64. in princip.* y lo confieſſa *Caramuel in pralud. Philip. §. quidquid. y en la reſpueſta que vamos convenciendo lib. 1. tit. D. Alfonſo 2. § el derecho.*

Mas

28 Mas en particular que aya representacion en los Reynos de Castilla dispone claramente la *Ley* 2. *tit.*15. *part.*2. como della notaron *Paul. Castr. conſ.*164. *Cov. d. cap.*38. *n.*6. *verſic undecimó; Coſt. de ſucceſſ. Regni pag.*165. *verſic. unde. Peralt. in d. rubr. de hær. inſt. n.*122. *Molin. d. lib.*3. *cap.*6. *n.*3. *&* 9. *Gom. in d. l.*40. *n.*65. *infin. Garcia d. cap.*16. *n.*26. Lo qual aquella ley ſuppone como coſa no que induſe de nuevo, ſino ya ordenada por leyes antiguas, y recebida por coſtumbre en todos los reynos de Heſpana. ibi, *eſto uzaron ſiempre, &c. maiormente en Heſpana.* Como ponderan *Molin. d. cap.*6. *n.*27. *y Garcia d. n.*26.

Y ſiendo eſto determinado por leyes, y recebido por coſtumbre de Caſtilla, (quanty mas de toda Heſpana, como la dicha ley dice) lo miſmo avia de admittirſe en Portugal en falta de otra ley, pues las del reyno veſino le deven ſer ſubſidiarias; *argum. txs in cap. cum olim de conſuet. cap ſuper eo de cenſib. cap. ſuper eo de cogn. ſpir. & utrobique gloſacum DD.* Y en Portugal particularmente lo advierte *Doctiſſimus ſenator Cabedo* 1.*p. deciſ.*211. *n.*8. Y hablando en terminos de nueſtra materia lo confieſſa *Caramuel*

in præludio Philip. §. præterea & lib.5. disp.4. q.1. art.1. n.5. probandolo con los dotores y textos que trasladó de la dicha alegacion *quæst.2. n.17.* por las misмas palabras, y orden, sin acrecentar, diminuir, ni mudar una letra.

29 El misмo in *Philip.l.5.disp.8.q.2.art.2. n.6.* reconoce bien que por el derecho commun tiene lugar la representacion en la corona Portugueſa, viendoſe apretado dice: *Reſpondeo, nuſquam fuiſſe mentem meam, hanc concluſionem eſſe extra omnem controverſiam, quia ſi talis eſſet, cur reſumerem calamum? quæſtio eſt ſanè difficilis, & habet utrinque propugnantes.* Y luego abaxo *ſufficit nobis habere Auctores illuſtriſſimos, fortiſſimaq; fundamenta.* (con eſto ſe contentava, pero ni tiene fundamento ſtable, ni un ſolo Autor malo, o bueno) y aſsi paſſa a otra manera de argumentar pretendiendo que en Portugal eſtá expreſſamente excluida la representacion por particulares leyes.

La 1. que alega *d. q.2. art.3. y en eſta reſpueſta, d. lib.5. c.1 ex n.11.* Son los capitulos 3. y 4. de las cortes de lamego que dicen aſsi. 111. *Vivat dominus Rex Afonſus, & habeat regnum; ſi habuerit filios varones, vivant, & habeant regnum; ita*

ut

ut non ſit neceſſe facere illos de novo reges. Ibunt de iſto modo: Pater, ſi habuerit regnum, cum fuerit mortuus, filius habeat, poſtea nepos, poſtea filius nepotis, & poſtea filios filiorum in ſæcula ſæculorum per ſemper. IV. *Si fuerit mortuus primus filius vivente rege patre, ſecundus erit Rex; ſi ſecundus, tertius; ſi tertius, quartus; & deinde omnes per iſtum modum.* Deſtas leyes ſaca Caramuel: *Paraque uno herede a ſu padre en el reyno de Portugal ſe requiere que ſu padre ſea actualmente Rey quando ſe muere, como lo inſtituye expreſſamente la ley 3. el primogenito que muere antes de heredar no es actualmente Rey quando ſe muere; luego el nieto no hereda la corona, ſino el hijo 2. y ſi eſte ſe muere antes de heredar, no ſuccederá ſu hijo nieto del Rey, ſino ſu hermano hijo 3. del Rey vivo, como ſe affirma en la ley 4.*

Viendo eſta interpretacion, (o la del *Philippe d. art.* 3. que viene aſer lamiſma) aquel erudito anonymo que hiço la tranſlacion *de jure ſuccedendi in Regnum Luſitaniæ*, en el appendix *corollario 4. ad fin.* dice de ſu Autor: *Tam ineptè, & abſurdè interpretari omnia ſolet, ut preverſo, ac præpoſtero ſenſu exponat; itaque cavendum ne in ſacras literas comentarios edat, ne illas*

interpretando corrumpat. Yo menos riguroſo reſpondo primeramente que el argumento ſuſo dicho es *à contrario ſenſu*: deciendo: la ley diſpone que ſuceda el hijo del padre que fuere Rey, luego ſi el padre no uviere ſido Rey no ſuccederá el hijo; niego la conſequencia; porque en derecho commun eſtá diſpueſto que el hijo deſte padre que no llegó a ſer Rey, herede a ſu aguelo que lo fue; *per tx. in §. cum filius Inſt. de hær. quæ ab int. def.* y lo mas alegado. *n.* 27; y para emendar eſte derecho no baſtan argumentos *à contrario ſenſu l.* 2. *C. de condit. inſert*; *latè Everard. in top. argum. & omnes paſſim.* Y aſsi ſe platicó en el Rey D. *Sebaſtian* que, ſin contradicion delos principes que avia, ſuccedió a ſu aguelo D. *Iuan* 3. ſin embargo que ſu padre no llegó a ſer Rey.

2°. Diſtinguo la propoſicion maior del argumento: *Para que uno herede a ſu padre en el Reyno de Portugal ſe requiere que ſu padre ſea actualmente Rey quando ſe muere*; concedo; porque ſi el padre no fuere Rey, no ay Reyno que el hijo pueda heredar del; Mas *para que uno herede* a ſu aguelo que fue Rey *ſe requiere que ſu padre ſea actualmente Rey quando ſe*

ſe muere, (que es nueſtro intento) niego; porque ni ſe puede verificar, ni aquella ley 3ª lo dice; habla ſolamente de la ſucceſsion del hijo al padre Rey, yno diſpone coſa alguna en ſucceſsion de nieto, hijo de padre que ſino fue Rey, al aguelo que lo fue; y omittiendo eſte caſo lo dexó a la diſpoſicion del derecho commun *juxta tx. in L. commodiſsimè ff. de lib. & poſth*; la qual es que entre el nieto en lugar del padre por repreſentacion, como eſtá dicho. Que ſi la ley quiſiera excluirlo, lo declaraſia, ſiendo coſa tan notable; como a ſemejante propoſito dice el *tx. in cap. ad audientiam de decim. L. item apud Labeonem* 15. *§. ait prætor in* 2. *ff. de injur*; ibi: *ea enim quæ notabiliter fiunt, niſi ſpecialiter notentur videntur quaſi neglecta.* Y aſsi lamiſmas leyes de Lamego quando *en el cap.* 5. admittieron ala ſucceſsion el hermano del Rey que no dexó deſcendientes, no ſe olvidaron de excluir los hijos de eſſe hermano; ni de hacer otras declaraciones que vemos en todo ſu diſcurſo. Ni ay que reparar en las palabras. *Pater, ſi habuerit Regnum cum fuerit mortuus*: porque no fueron pueſtas por modo de condicion, ſino por manera de diſpoſicion

mas

mas ampla, ſegun la fraſe de aquel tiempo que ſe ve bien en todos los capitulos de las dichas cortes; porque la diccion, *ſi*, no ſiempre hace condicion; *gloſa verbo, pura, in l. 2. §. ſi in diem ff. pro empt. gloſ. 2. poſt princ. in cap. ſignificaſti de elect.* unas veſes ſe pone por, *ſiquidem*; Plaut. in amphi. *Si ſimilem rem ipſe in legem juſſit eſſe Iupiter.* Virgil 1. *Georgic.*

——Veſtro ſi munere tellus
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit ariſtâ.

En otra parte *——Si conceſſa peto.* — Otra vez *Si qua eſt cœlo pietas.* Adonde Servio explica, *Si*, por, *Siquidem*; Siguelo Calepin *indict*; *ſi*; é otros lugares ſe pone por, *quia*, *Calepin ſupra*; *auguſtin. Barboſ. de dictionum. dict. 364. n. 9.* adonde *n. 5.* la interpreta por, *quamvis*, y *n. 10.* dice que tam bien ſe toma por, *quando*; ex Bart. *in l. hac verba n. 4. de legat. 1. & aliis.* Muchas veſes es lo miſmo que, *cum*, *l. ſi fidejuſſor 29. §. ſi cum debitor ff. mandati*; *bonus textus in l. quodcunque 45. §. non ſolum ff. de verb. oblig.* Viene pues, adecir nueſtra ley; *muerto el padre que tuvo el Reyno*; o, *pues el padre tuvo el Reyno*; o, *muerto el Rey padre, le ſuceda el hijo*; o dixo, *que ſuceda el hijo aſu padre que tuvo el Reyno*; porque, como ya hemos

hemos tocado, ſi el padre no fue Rey, no ay Reyno que el hijo pueda heredar del (del aguelo ſi) eſto ſe entendia aunque la ley no lo exprimiera; entra luego Bart. in L. muto 6. §. ſub conditione ff. de tutel. poniendo por concluſion: *expreſsio ejus quod tacitè ineſt diſpoſitionem conditionalem non inducit.* y lo prueba por aquel texto; no aviendo condicion, ceſſa el argumento; y deſta ſuerte queda mũi corriente el ſentido, mas como quiere *Caramuel*, notablemente confuſo, contra la ſimplicidad amiga de las leyes, como la llama el *tx̃ in §. cæterum inſt. de legit. agnat. ſucceſ.* quanty mas que nunca el argumento a contrario ſenſu ſeria valido contra lo diſpueſto por derecho, ſegun ya advertimos.

3°. Niego lo que dice *Caramuel* en ſu argumento; que ſi el primogenito muere antes de heredar, *el nieto no heredará la corona, ſino el hijo 2. y ſi eſte ſe muere antes de heredar, no ſuccederá ſu hijo nieto del Rey, ſino ſu hermano hijo 3. del Rey vivo; como ſe affirma en la ley 4.* La ley 4. no affirma tal; porque quando dice que al rey ſucceda ſu hijo primero; y ſi muriere vivo ſu padre, ſucceda el 2. y aſsi el 3. y 4. quiſo ſolo declarar lo que la ley 3. avia dicho, *Vivat Dominus Rex*

Afonſus, & habeat regnum; ſi habuerit filios varones, vivant, & habeant Regnum, ita ut non ſit neceſſe facere illos de novo Reges; y porque no pareciesſe que llamava todos los hijos del rey juntamente para dividir el Reyno, o para guovernarlo juntos; declara: *ibunt de iſto modo*: luego diſpone que ſuceda el hijo maior; y ſi eſte muriere, ſuceda el 2. y muerto eſte, el 3. &c. eſte fue ſolo ſu intento y no excluir los hijos del primogenito en que no habló eſta L. 4, antes ſe entiende que muerto el primero ſuccederá el 2. ſi aquel no dexare deſcendientes, y aſsi ſuccederá el 3. ſi el 2. no los dexare tambien; porque, aviendolos, han de ſuceder por la repreſentacion, como judicioſamente explicó el manifieſto Portuguez *n.* 15. *verſic. Tambem.* Y para que eſto ſea mũi facil alos no letrados, (que para los letrados no tiene difficultad) deven ſaber que es principio *per L. ſi quando C. de inoff. teſtam.* que, diſpueſta una vez qualquiera coſa por derecho commun, no es viſto revocarſe ni por otra ley del miſmo derecho commun, ni por ley particular de Reyno, aun que pareſca que la revoca, ſi la miſma ley poſtrera por palabras expreſſas no declara que revoca la diſpoſicion antigua;

y

yeſto (demas de otras raçones) conſtituyeron los legisladores, como tan advertidos preveniendo a que un *Juan Caramuel*, o otro interprete ſemejante no explicaſſe alguna ley nueva conforme a ſu guſto, o juiſio de manera que venieſſe a deſtruir lo que los antiguos avian eſtablecido con maduro conſejo. Confirma eſto en nueſtro caſo el graviſsimo dotor Caſtellano Molina *de primogen. lib.3. cap.8. n.2. et.5.* poniendo por concluſion cierta que para excluir repreſentacion ſon neceſſarias palabras expreſſas; y aquy ni ay ambiguas.

4°. Que dirá *Caramuel* ſi mueſtro que las dichas leyes no ſolo no excluyen repreſentacion, mas la induſen expreſſamente? advierta ahora. dice la dicha ley 3. *Vivat Dominus Rex Afonſus, & habeat Regnum. Si habuerit filios varones, vivant, & habeant regnum, ita ut non ſit neceſſe facere illos de novo reges.* Y porque no pareſca que llama juntamente a todos los hijos varones, proſigue declarando: *Ibunt de iſto modo; pater ſi habuerit regnum, cùm fuerit mortuus, filius habeat, poſtea nepos, poſtea filius nepotis.* Por ventura dice, o entiende que eſte nieto tendrá el reyno deſpues de tenerlo ſu padre, como quiere

Caramuel? no por cierto; porque entonces no devia ser llamado nieto de Rey, sino hijo de Rey, pues su padre lo avia sido; y tambien, siendo hijo de Rey, ya estava llamado a la succes. fiore del padre; ibi. *filius habeat*; y seria múi impertinente repeticion llamarlo otra vez. habla del nieto de Rey, cuyo hijo, padre deste nieto, no fue Rey; y a este nieto dá la succesion, disponiendo que muerto el padre (aguelo en respeto del nieto) que fue Rey, le succederá el hijo maior) y despues el nieto; esto es si el padre murió en vida del aguelo, segun se contiene en la ley seguiente, que deve ser trahida ala explicacion de la precedente, como manda el *tx in L. sed & posteriores* 28. *ff. de legib.* y siendo otrosi muerto el nieto en vida del aguelo, si esse nieto dexó hijo, el tal hijo del nieto, dispone la misma ley que suceda; y assi los de mas descendientes, ibi. *Et postea filios (alias filii) filiorum in sæcula sæculorum per semper.* Es lo mismo que decir que en los descendientes avrá representacion hasta infinito; que es la fraze por que la concede el derecho commun; y sola esta manera de hablar bastara para mostrar quanto se conforma con el. Sigue luego *la ley* 4. la forma de

la

la ſucceſsion: *Si fuerit mortuus primus filius vivente rege patre*; (entiende no aviendo quedado, del, nieto, bis nieto, o otro deſcendiente, llamado en la L. anteced. por la qual eſſa ſe deve declarar; *L. non eſt novum 26. cum ſeq. ff de legib.*) entonces, *ſecundus erit rex; ſi ſecundus tertius; ſi tertius, quartus; & deinde omnes per iſtum modum*, a ſaber ſi del maior en edad no uviere deſcendientes por el modoque ſe diſpuſo en el hijo primogenito: Todo eſto eſtá mas que evidente en las leyes referidas aqualquiera perſona que no fuera *Iuan Caramuel*; y quando no lo eſtuviera tanto, baſtava la doctrina general que manda interpretar las leyes municipales de modo que no offendan el derecho commun. *Greg. Lop. in l. 9. tit. 13. p. 6. gloſa, a mudar*; *Guttierr. civil. lib. 3. q. 15. ex n. 34, & q. 29. n. 6, & in repet. §. ſui n. 47. Inſt. de hered. qualit.* Y aſsi las dichas cortes antes ſon en nueſtro favor, pues claramente inducen repreſentacion en la ſucceſsion dela Corona Portugneſa.

Las otras leyes de Portugal de donde quiere probar *Caramuel* que en eſte Reyno eſtá excluida repreſentacion, es una que la excluye en la ſucceſsion delos bienes que ſalieron de la corona

Real por donacion de algun Rey a algun vaſſallo, otra que en los bienes emphiteuticos diſpone lo miſmo, y otra que ordena que en los maioraſgos ſuceda el pariente mas cercano al ultimo poſſeedor ; alegolas *en ſu Philippe d. q. 2. art. 3. n.* 13. y repetiolas, aunque diminuto, en eſta reſpueſta *d. lib. 5 cap. 1. n.* 15. y ſe las moſtró aquella celebre alegacion (en que conſiſte toda ſu biblioteca) *q. 3. n. 3.* laqual reſponde abaxo *ex n.* 28. loque yo dixe en la cenſura de Pellicer *§. mas como quiera, y ſeguiente*; que es en ſubſtancia proceder lo primero en virtud de la particular ley que llaman *Mental*, que dá cierta forma para deferirſe los bienes ſalidos de la corona *jure ſanguinis*, como notó Molina el mas grave Caſtellano en la materia *d. lib. 3. cap. 7. an.* 12. *Velaſc. lib. 1. de jur. emph. q. 5. n.* 22. *Gam. deciſ.* 174. *n.* 18. y aſsi no admitten repreſentacion; pero no hacen argumento para el miſmo reyno, en que la ay, por deferirſe *jure hæreditario*, como confieſſa *Caramuel* ſin conocer los effectos deſta differencia; ſegun ya advertimos *n.* 27. *verſic. lo que mas es.* Ni es de momento la replica que hace en la reſpueſta *d. cap. 1. n.* 17. porque no es mas que fundarſe otra vez en las cortes de Lamego;

mego; con el absurdo que acabamos de ver. Lo 2º. procede solo en las emphiteusis de nombramiento libre; que el emphiteuta puede nombrar, ex concesione dominicá, en quien quisiere sin respecto a heredero; como notó Cost. *De succeſſ. Regni, pag.*105. *Valaſe d.q.*50. *n.*6. adonde dice que aquella ley no procede en las emphiteusis hereditarias en que, conforme a derecho, tiene lugar la representacion; como resuelven *Alex. conſ.*129.*col. ult. lib.*1. *Cov. pract. c.*38. *n* 13. *Molin. d. cap.*7. *n.*19. con lo qual este argumento Viene aser por nuestra parte. A lo 3º. se responde que la ley extravagante enque se funda no hiço otra cosa, sino, en la quæstion que avia, si en los maioraſgos devia suceder el pariente mas proximo al instituidor, o al ultimo posseedor? resolver en favor deste; sin excluir representacion, antes se llama pariente mas proximo el que entra en virtud della; *juxta auth. poſt fratres* 1. §. *hi aut. C. de leg. hær.* ibi. *hi autem fratrum filii, cum pares ſint defuncti fratribus*; como en Castilla *por la l.*9. *tit.*1. *p.*2. muerto el Rey sin hijos es llamado su pariente mas cercano; y este se verifica en el que entra por representacion; *por la l.*2. *tit.*15. *part.*2. como observó

ſervó *Molin d. lib 3. cap.* 8. *in fin.* Y quando todo eſto faltara, ſobrava la declaration que hace la dicha extravagante en las ultimas palabras, ibi: *E na ſocceſaõ dos bẽs da Coroa naõ averá lugar eſta Ley.* Y como *Caramuel* ſobre eſtas reſpueſtas, que ya vió en la cenſura que hice, no halló replica; no es meneſter que nos detengamos mas.

Con el derecho referido concuerdan el teſtamento del Rey, D. *Iuan* 1, y declaracion del Rey D. *Alfonſo* 5; que confieſſa *Caramuel d. q.* 2. *art.* 5. *n.* 32. *y* 36. *y en la reſpueſta d. lib.* 5. *cap.* 2. *n.* 19. *y* 23. En que claramente ſupponen, y aun dicen que en la ſucceſsion del Reyno ay repreſentacion; y quando aquellos papeles no tengan fuerça de leyes, como eſte auctor quiere, baſta que contengan teſtimonios tan autoriſados de que en Portugal ſe uſó, y entendió ſiempre que avia lugar el derecho deſte beneficio.

30. Ahora echa el P. *Iuan Caramuel* el reſto de ſu ſciencia para confundir nos ſin remedio. En la reſpueſta al manifieſto *lib.* 5. *cap.* 2. pone eſte titulo: *Reſpondeſe con efficacia* (parece que ya confieſſa que haſta ally no avia reſpondido efficazmente) *a las raçones conque el Reyno de Portugal*

Portugal prueba que ſe á de admittir el beneficio de la repreſentacion. Y comiença el capitulo: *Quien creyera que Monarchia tan iluſtre, y opulenta avia de venir a eſtado tan infeliz, y miſero, que no tuvieſſe un ſylogiſmo conque probar el derecho que finge?* Dios ſelo pague al buen religioſo la compaſsion que tiene de nueſtras miſerias; conſidera, pues, que andamos mũi mal en decir que en la ſucceſsion de Portugal ay repreſentacion; porque a averla no tenia derecho la Señora D. *Catalina*; pues ſi por virtud della pretendia el del Infante D. *Duarte* ſu padre, mucho mejor lo tenia el Principe de Parma *Rainuncio* por ſer hijo de la Señora D. *Maria* hija tambien del miſmo Infante, hermana maior de la Señora *Catalina*, y que cõmo tal la precedia, y que aſsi nunca tenemos derecho; porque ſi no ay repreſentacion precedió el rey *Philippe* 2 en igual grado, por varon, y de maior edad; y ſi la ay, precedió el Duque de Parma repreſentando al Infante ſu aguelo por el derecho heredado de ſu madre que precedia a la Señora *Catalina*; concluye: *El movimiento Scholaſtico deſta balança Real conſiſte en las fuerças robuſtas de ſolo eſte dilema: O ſe á de admittir en la ſucceſsion deſta corona el beneſi-*

cio de la repreſentacion, o no; ſi ſe admitte ſe excluye el Duque de Bergança; excluyeſe ſi no ſe admitte, luego ſu cauſa no puede ſubſiſtir. Bravo argumento! y ſehalla tan ſatisfecho deſte diſcurſo, que en todo *el lib.* 5. hace poco mas que repetirlo; en la margen de aquel *cap.* 2. le llama, *dilema fortiſſimo*; otra vez *en el lib.* 6. *cap.* 3. *n.* 18. le dá el titulo de, *robuſto ſylogiſmo*; mas que deſcançados ſe echaran a dormir los Portugueſes, ſi los Caſtellanos no ſupieran mas de guerra, que eſte ſu eſcritor ſabe de derecho! no le culpo en lo que ignora, aunque ſean vulgares principios, antes merece alabança en ſaber algo de lo qne no es ſu profeſsion; con todo no puede excuſarſe de meterſe en eſcrivir en ſciencia agena, para caer en yerros pueriles; pero, dexado eſto, ſerá obra de charidad inſtruirle un poco en la materia de repreſentacion para quando ſe le offreſca hablar della. Sepa, que aunque eſta ſe dá uſque in infinitum para ſucceder a aſcendientes, *Por el tx. in §. cum filius Inſt. de hæred. quæ ab int. cum aliis*; no es aſsi quando ſe trata de ſuceder a colaterales, porque entonces no ay repreſentacion, ſi no entre hermanos, y ſus hijos (para ſucceder al tyo) y no ſe extende a los nietos; no ſerá meneſter

rebolver

rebolver mucho para eſtudiar eſto; hallaralo en un texto capital que eſtá en un libro del derecho civil (que communmente llamamos, *Volumen*, y es quinto) en los authenticos, y ſe llama *Authentico de hæred. ab inteſt. ven. collatione* 9; en un §. que comiença, *ſi igitur*, 2. ibi: *Solis præbemus fratrum maſculorum, & fœminarum filiis, aut filiabus*, dice: *Damos el beneficio de la Repreſentacion a ſolos los hijos, o hijas de los hermanos, o hermanas.* Y en el §. ſi vero neque, diſpone aſsi: *Si verò neque fratres, neque filios fratrum (ſicut diximus) defunctus reliquerit, omnes deinceps à latere cognatos ad hæreditatem vocamus, ſecundùm uniuſcujuſque gradus prærogativam, ut viciniores gradu ipſi reliquis præponantur.* En romance: *Pero ſi el defuncto no dexare ni hermanos, ni hijos de hermanos (como diximos) llamamos a la herencia todos los otros parientes colaterales, ſegun la prerrogativa del grado de cado uno*, o, *Segun la prerrogativo de cada un grado* (que todo es uno) *paraque los mas vecinos en grado, eſſos miſmos ſean antepueſtos a los de mas.* Y ſi ſe embaraçare con eſte texto pareciendole diffuſo, buſque en los nueve libros del Codigo, que es otro volumen del derecho civil, un titulo *de legitimis hæredibus*; y debaxo del una Authen-

tica que comiença, *post fratres*; la 2ª, (porque ay dos que comiençan asi;) y lerá estas pocas palabras: *Post fratres, fratrumque filios vocantur quicunque gradu sunt proximiores*, significan. *despues de los hermanos, e hijos de hermanos, son llamados aquellos que son mas proximos en grado.* No puedo aquy darle raçon desto por menor, mas de espacio puede leer *Cóv. pract. cap. 38. n. 7. versic. 3º. ad intellectum*; *Tiraq. de primogen. q. 41. n. 4 Ant. Gom. in l. 8. Taur. n. 18. Ant. Gabr. com. tit. de Succes. ab intest. concl. 1. n. 13*; conforme aloqual, pues se tratava de la succesion del Rey D. *Henrique*, avia representacion entre el Rey D. *Philippe 2*; y la Señora D. *Catalina*, por ser hijos de sus hermanos; y tambien la devria aver entre la Señora D. *Maria*, si fuera viva; pero, siendo, como era, ya muerta, no se extendia, el beneficio de la dicha representacion a *Rainuncio* su hijo, porque no era hijo, sino ya nieto, del Infante D *Duarte* hermano de D. *Henrique*, aquien se succedia; en los quales terminos no gosando de aquel beneficio, y estando mas remoto un grado, era precedido de la Señora *Catalina* mas proxima parienta del mismo D *Henrique*. Y de aquy sabrá tambien *Caramuel* lo que no sabe

ſibe *en ſu reſpuesta lib.* 5. *cap* 2. *n.* 24. *y* 25. porque a el Rey D. *Sebaſtian* ſuccedió ſin controvercia D. *Henrique* ſu tyo, hermano de D. *Iuan* 3. ſu aguelo (pueſto que fuera de menor edad que D. *Duarte* ſu hermano, lo que ſe niega) y fue porque los hijos de D. *Duarte* fallecido eſtavan con D. *Sebaſtian* en grado remoto a que no llega repreſentacion; y aſsi le ſucedió D. *Henrique* como pariente mas llegado; ni obſtan las palabras que alega del *P. Molina* doctiſsimo Theologo, *in tract. de juſt. diſp.* 632. *tract.* 2. que viene a decir lo miſmo que *Caramuel*; porque, hablando contra principios de derecho tan claros, no hace mas que ſer teſtigo de la infelicidad con que ordinariamente los Theologos eſcriven en la juriſprudencia, y todos en la ſciencias que no profeſſan; de que ſon notorios los exemplos, que no es decente repetir; de manera que ſe tiene por maravilla el acierto con que el *P. Sanches* tratópuntos legiſtales en ſu libro *de matrimonio*; y grandes hombres ſe duelen particularmente de que el *P. Molina* empleaſſe en aquella obra el raro ingenio de que Dios le dotó, pudiendo lucir con extremo en materias puramente Theologicas; no es buen Autor un Theologo

para controvercias de jurisprudencia; ni Bartolo para questiones de Theologia. *Tractent fabrilia fabri.* Seria raçonable que, en materia legistal, creyeramos a *Molina* Theologo quando en las palabras que refiere *Caramuel* dice *Molina* (jurisconsulti) *opinionem falsam esse?* quanty-mas que el *P. Molina* era Castellano; defendia las partes de su Rey; esso le cegó para no ver la verdad.

Assi que por todos caminos no ay duda que en la succesion de la corona de Portugal tiene su lugar la representación.

TITVLOS,

Que dieron el derecho de succeder a la Senora D. Catalina, excluyendo a D. Philippe 2. Rey de Castilla.

31. Primero y principal fue el beneficio de la representation; que, teniendo lugar en la corona

corona Portugueſa, como indubitablemente ſe moſtró *ex n.* 26 puſo ala Senora D. *Catalina* en el lugar del Infante D. *Duarte* ſu padre hijo del Rey D. Manuel *de glorioſa memoria*, y hermano del Rey D. *Henrique*, aquien ſe ſucedió, y aſsi ella era ſu mas cercano pariente con precedencia a los demas, como diximos, *n.* 24.

32 Segundo titulo fue el derecho de *agnacion*; probado con eſte ſylogiſmo. los agnados ſe prefieren alos cognados en la ſucceſsion de ſus parientes; *L.* 1. *ff quis ordo in bon. poſſeſſ. L. ad inteſtati.* 5. *L. patruo* 7. *C. de legit. hæred princ. inſt. de ſucceſſ. cognat.* El Rey D. *Philippe* por ſer hijo de hermana del Rey D. *Henrique* (de cuya ſucceſsion ſe tratava) era ſu cognado, *L. inter agnatos ff. unde cogn. tx' in princ. verſic. ſunt autem, Inſt. de legit. agn. tut*, Y la Senora D. *Catalina*, por ſer hija de hermano del miſmo Rey D. *Henrique*, era ſu agnada; *L. ſunt autem ff. de legit. tut. d. verſic. ſunt autem in princ. Inſt de leg. agn. tut.* (porque no dexava de ſer agnada por ſer hembra, *L. pronunciatio ad fin. ff. de verb. ſignif.* §. *caterum Inſt. de leg. agn. ſucceſſ.* ni por ſer caſada, *L. voluntas C. de fidei commiſſ.*

miſſ. luego devia ſer preferida en la dicha ſucceſsion. Ni obſtará a la propoſicion maior deſte argumento, ſi ſe dixere, que la differencia antigua de agnados, y cognados eſtá oy quitada por derecho mas moderno *in Auth. poſt fratres* 1. *in fin. & in corpore vnde ſuumitur, C. de legit. hæred.* Porque ſe reſponde que eſſa differencia eſtá quitada para que todos ſuccedan igualmente en las coſas diviſibles, mas en lo indiviſible, como un Reyno, no podiendo ſucceder mas de uno, es claro que ſuccederá el agnado, conforme al derecho antiguo que no eſtá revocado en eſte caſo; como lo ſentió *Molin. lib.* 3. *cap.* 41. *n.* 4. *juncto n.* 2. *verſic.* 4um. Y aſsi vemos tambien que ſe platica cada dia ſer preferido el varon, aun que de menor edad, a la hembra, en eſtas coſas indiviſibiles; quando entrambos ſon agnados, ſin embargo que la differencia antigua entre varones, y hembras para las ſucceſsiones hereditarias, eſtá oy quitada por la *L. maximum vitium C. de liber. præter. L. lege C. de legit. hæred. Aut. de hæred. ab int. ven. §. ſi vero, verſic; nullam*, que los admitte igualmente, entendiendoſe en herencia diviſible; por loqual en nueſtros miſmos terminos reſuelven

por

por la hembra agnada, contra el varon cognado, *Paul. in l. ſed ſi hæc §. qui manumittitur ff. de in jus voc. & ibi, Alex; ſocin; & alii relati a Tiraq. de jure primogen. q. 13. n. 6.*

Todo confieſſa Caramuel *in Philip. lib. 5. d. diſp. 8. q. 3. art. 1. & 2.* mas en el *art. 3.* dice que eſſo no procede quando la agnada y el cognado concurren en el miſmo grado, como era en el caſo preſente; porque entonces el cognado há de ſer preferido, trae para prueba deſto, *el cap. 1. de eo qui ſibi, & hæred. in uſib. feud*; y confiado dice que ally ſe define expreſſamente que en ſucceſſion de coſa indiviſible, qual es el Reyno, concurriendo agnada, y cognado en el miſmo grado, el cognado há de preceder. Sacó eſte argumento, y dotores que tratan del por las miſmas palabras, y orden ſin diſfaçarlo en un punto, de aquella alegacion Portugueſa por la Señora D. *Catalina, illatione 4. n. 47.* y continuando con callar las reſpueſtas que ella miſma dá, ſe quexará ſi continuamos en decir que uſa dela traça conque los Sectarios deſte tiempo ſe aprovecharon de las controvercias de *Belarmino*; dirá que no vió tales reſpueſtas; repitimoſlas por ver ſi ſe acuerda. Es una, que leyó mal ſi

leyó que en aquel texto concorria agnada con cognado; pues no concorrian ſino hijas de un hermano, con hijo de otro hermano; y aſsi todos eran agnados, y, ſiendolo, con raçon fue preferido el agnado, que era agnado, y varon; pero en nueſtro caſo concorria agnada, y cognado, y aſsi vea la differencia. Otra que aquel texto no pone regla general; ſinó que habla particularmente de un feudo en que por clauſula ſpecial no entravan hembras, mientras ubieſſe varones, aunque en mas remoto grado; ibi: *Haredibus ſuis maſculis, vel, eis deficientibus, fœminis.* Y aſsi era claro que no tenian lugar las hijas de un hermano, con el primo que era varon, (aun en caſo que no fuera ſino cognado,) y eſta raçon dá el texto ibi: *Non enim patet locus fœminis in feudi ſucceſsione donec maſculus ſupereſt ex eo qui primus de hoc feudo fuerit inveſtitus*; ponderolo *Molin. d. lib.3 cap.8. n 9. Sōsbech. de feud. p.10. an 143.* por aquellas palabras, ibi: *de hoc feudo.* Pero en nueſtro caſo las hembras ſon igualmente capaces, como los varones, ſegun confieſſa Caramuel *in Philip lib.5. diſp.8. q.1. y es indubitable.* Y no procede en forma quien argumenta de una deciſion fundada en raçon ſpecial, para lo

lo que se gobierna por las reglas ordinarias; *L. quod vero* 14. *cum seq. ff. de legibus.* Y se ve bien que de aquel texto no se puede hacer ilacion para la succesion de Reyno; pues, a hacerse, se figueria que si por muerte del ultimo Rey quedasse una hija suya, y un sobrino suyo hijo de su hermano, (que es el proprio caso de aquel texto en el feudo) este excluiria la hija; que es absurdo evidente. Yo pongo por respuesta tercera, que, pues *Caramuel* confiessa que aun oy ay differencia entre agnados, y cognados para succeder en las cosas indivisibles, como es un Reyno, de fuerça há de confessar, que esto es quando estan en el mismo grado, porque estando en diverso (quando no ay representacion, como el no quiere que aya aquy) sin essas differencias de agnado, y cognado, siempre el mas proximo succede en la tal cosa y assi se confunde su solucion.

33. Tercer titulo fue la mejor *linea.* Pruebase; porque para aver de succeder en bienes vinculados, que deven andar en una sola persona de cierta familia se consideran quatro qualidades con preferencia una a otra; 1ª. *Linea*; 2ª. *Grado*; 3ª. *Sexo*; 4ª. *Edad*; por manera que mien-

tras ay persona en mejor *linea* es preferida a los otros parientes del ultimo posseedor, aunque esten en mejor *grado* de otra *linea* no tan buena; y entre las personas de la misma *linea* precede la que está en mejor *grado* con el ultimo posseedor, o sea varon, o hembra; y assi de discurre en el *sexo*, y en la *edad*; es doctrina commun, que con muchos d.d. firma Molina *de primog. lib.3. cap.4. n.13; & cap.6. n.50*; y lo confiessa Caramuel, *in Philip. lib.5. disp.8. n.55. in resolutione.* Para formar las *lineas* se consideran los hijos de aquel ultimo posseedor de que ay descendientes; de modo, que siendo Don *Manuel* el ultimo Rey de Portugal de que quedaron descendientes; todos los hijos que le nacieron formaron su *linea* capaz de succeder en el Reyno. *Vt ex aliis resolvit Pelaes de maiorat. 2. p. q.7. n.13.* Y para verse qual es la mejor *linea* para ser preferida como tal, se attende la prerrogativa que tenia cada uno de aquellos hijos que les dieron principio; y la *linea* de aquel que precedia a sus hermanos por sexo, o edad, precede tambien a las *lineas* dessos mismos hermanos que eran precedidos; de suerte que mientras ay persona de la *linea*, (que es lo mismo que descendencia) de

aquel

aquel que tenia primero lugar a la ſucceſsion del ultimo poſſeedor aſcendiente, o colateral; no puede ſer llamada perſona de otra linea; pero acabada la mejor linea, entonces entrará la 2ª. y aſsi la 3ª. eſto conſta de lo que reſuelven, *Molin. d. lib.* 3. *c.* 6. *tn.* 31. *Guillielm. de Monſerrat. in tract. de ſucceſſ. Regn. Franc. rub.* 1. *n.* 7. *in tract. doct. y otros que eſtos citan*; y como el Infante D. *Duarte* hijo del dicho Rey D. *Manuel*, por la qualidad de varon, excluya a ſu hermana D. *Iſabel*; aſsi ſa linea enque la Señora D. *Catalina* ſu hija ſe hallava es mejor que la de la dicha Emperatriz D. *Iſabel*, en que de hallava el Rey D. *Philippe*; y por conſequencia la Sen. *Catalina* precedia a D. *Philippe*, por mejor *linea*; y al Principe de Parma *Rainuncio* (que eſtava en la miſma *linea*) por mejor *grado*, por ſer mas llegada al ultimo Rey D. *Henrique*, ſuppueſto que la repreſentacion no ſe extendia a eſte Principe, como eſtá advertido *n.* 30.

Contra eſta evideneia argumenta Caramuel, *d. diſp.* 8. *q.* 4. *n.* 56. que no ſe puede conſiderar otra *linea* ſino la del Rey D. *Manuel*; en la qual eſtava el Rey *Philippe*; la Sen. *Catalina*; y todos los mas pretendientes; poco, o nada importava

esto, pues siempre la Sen. *D. Catalina* precedia por la *representacion*, y *agnacion*; como está mostrado; pero, pues tratamos el punto, es necessario decir, que este Autor quiso probar principalmente su intento con el texto *in cap. 1. de nat. succeff feudi*; aun que no acertó a expenderlo tan bien, como lo expende la alegacion referida (que es todo su caudal) *d. illat. 4. n. 58*; su argumento en substancia es fundado en las palabras de aquel texto que, hablando de la succesion por muerte del ultimo posseedor, dice que pertenece *ad solos, & ad omnes qui ex illâ lineâ sunt ex quâ iste fuit*; de donde parece que se infieren dos cosas; la una, es que, llamando la *linea* en que estava el ultimo posseedor; que en nuestro caso fue el Rey *D. Henrique*, muestra que no se considera otra sino una sola del Rey *D. Manuel* que fue cabeça della en todos sus hijos, y que en esta se hallava el Rey *Philippe*, como los demas pretendientes, sin differencia de mejora La otra, que si toda via queremos que cada un hijo de *D. Manuel* hiciesse una *linea* diversa, el texto no llama a la succesion sino los que fueren de la *linea* del ultimo posseedor, y como el *Rey D. Henrique* (hijo del dicho *D. Manuel*) fue ultimo posseedor,

posſeedor, y no dexó *linea* por no dexar deſcendientes, no ay perſona que el derecho llame, y aſsi la Sen. *D. Catalina*, pues, por hija de otro hijo de D. *Manuel*, dice que es de otra *linea*, no tiene que hacer por eſta via en la ſucceſsion. Reſponde con facilidad la alegacion citada; *ex Molin. d. lib. 3. c. 6. n. 35.* que aquel texto habla en el caſo en que al maioralgo, feudo, o coſa ſemejante ſe oppone perſona que es de la miſma *linea* en que eſtava el ultimo poſſeedor; y otra perſona de *linea* diverſa; y entonces diſpone que pertenece al dela miſma *linea*; v.g. El Rey D. *Manuel* tuvo por hijos al Infante D. *Henrique*, Infante *D. Duarte*, y otros, cada uno hiço ſu *linea*; vino el Reyno a D. *Henrique*, y ſuppongamos que por ſu muerte vino a algun hijo ſuyo, ſi eſte tuviera deſcendientes ſuccederian unos a otros no ſolo los deſcendientes a aſcendientes, ſino tambien tranſverſal, o colateralmente, en qualquiera grado, aunque acóteciera que uno de la otra *linea* de *D. Duarte* eſtuviera en grado mas proximo con el ultimo poſſeedor; porque la ſucceſsion que entró en una *linea* no Saldrá della mientras ella durare; (eſto es lo que dice el texto) pero no aviendo quedado perſona de la tal *linea*, de *D. Henrique*,

esto, pues siempre la Sen. *D. Catalina* precedia por la *representacion*, y *agnacion*; como está mostrado; pero, pues tratamos el punto, es necessario decir, que este Autor quiso probar principalmente su intento con el texto *in cap.* 1. *de nat. succeſſ feudi*; aun que no acertó a expenderlo tan bien, como lo expendé la alegacion referida (que es todo su caudal) *d. illat.* 4. *n.* 58; su argumento en substancia es fundado en las palabras de aquel texto que, hablando de la succesion por muerte del ultimo posseedor, dice que pertenece *ad ſolos, & ad omnes qui ex illâ lineâ ſunt ex quâ iſte fuit*; de donde parece que se infieren dos cosas; la una, es que, llamando la *linea* en que estava el ultimo posseedor; que en nuestro caso fue el Rey *D. Henrique*, muestra que no se considera otra sino una sola del Rey *D. Manuel* que fue cabeça della en todos sus hijos, y que en esta se hallava el Rey *Philippe*, como los demas pretendientes, sin differencia de mejora La otra, que si toda via queremos que cada un hijo de *D. Manuel* hiciesse una *linea* diversa, el texto no llama a la succesion sino los que fueren de la *linea* del ultimo posseedor, y como el Rey *D. Henrique* (hijo del dicho *D. Manuel*) fue ultimo posseedor,

posſeedor, y no dexó *linea* por no dexar deſcendientes, no ay perſona que el derecho llame, y aſsi la Sen. *D. Catalina*, pues, por hija de otro hijo de D. *Manuel*, dice que es de otra *linea*, no tiene que hacer por eſta via en la ſucceſsion. Reſponde confacilidad la alegacion citada; *ex Molin. d. lib. 3. c. 6. n. 35.* que aquel texto habla en el caſo en que al maioralgo, feudo, o coſa ſemejante ſe oppone perſona que es de la miſma *linea* en que eſtava el ultimo poſſeedor; y otra perſona de *linea* diverſa; y entonces diſpone que pertenece al dela miſma *linea*; v.g. El Rey D. *Manuel* tuvo por hijos al Infante D. *Henrique*, Infante *D. Duarte*, y otros, cada uno hiço ſu *linea*, vino el Reyno a D. *Henrique*, y ſuppongamos que por ſu muerte vino a algun hijo ſuyo, ſi eſte tuviera deſcendientes ſuccederian unos a otros no ſolo los deſcendientes a aſcendientes, ſino tambien tranſverſal, o colateralmente, en qualquiera grado, aunque acõteciera que uno de la otra *linea* de *D. Duarte* eſtuviera en grado mas proximo con el ultimo poſſeedor; porque la ſucceſsion que entró en una *linea* no Saldrá della mientras ella durare; (eſto es lo que dice el texto) pero no aviendo quedado perſona de la tal *linea*, de *D. Henrique*,

Henrique, es claro que se acabó, y que la succes-sion deve venir a alguna persona; entonces se recurre al tronco mas proximo, que fue el Rey *D. Manuel*, del qual salieron las *lineas* que ay; y hallandose que la de su hijo D. *Duarte* es la mejor, porque el precedia a sus hermanos; no ay duda que se le defiere la succesion; conforme a loque ya diximos segun todo derecho, al qual no encuentra, antes favorece el texto citado; que desta manera, no prueba la primera ilacion contraria, porque las palabras: *Ad solos, & ad omnes qui ex illâ lineâ sunt, ex quâ iste fuit*; quieren decir, que por muerte de aquel Rey (que supponemos) descendiente de D. *Henrique*, el qual descendiente no dexó hijos, venga el Reyno a otro de su misma linea, a saber descendiente tambien de D. *Henrique*. Ni ayuda la 2ª, porque, si se acabó aquella *linea* de D. *Henrique*, de fuerça devemos recorrer a otra, sin que el texto lo niegue, ni podia negarlo sin notable absurdo; pues seria negar esta succesion a todas las personas del mundo.

34. Quarto titulo fue la disposicion de las cortes de Lamego en tiempo del primer Rey de Portugal, en las quales se dió la forma de succe-

der

der el en Reyno que ſe inſtituya, como confieſſa Caramuel *in Philip. lib.5. diſp.4. q.1. art.1. n.24.* Y mas largamente *lib.2. q.1. art.4.* En ellas ſe ordenó, que la hija del Rey que uvieſſe devenir a ſucceder en la corona caſaria con Portuguez, porque no venieſſe el Reyno a eſtrangero, y ſi caſaſſe con principe eſtrangero no fueſſe Reyna, porque nunca querian el Rey, y ſus pueblos que la corona fueſſe fuera de Portugueſes. Dice aſsi el cap. 7. *Si Rex Portugalliæ non habuerit maſculum, & habuerit filiam, iſta erit Regina poſtquam Rex fuerit mortuus, de iſto modo. Non accipiet virum niſi de Portugal, nobilis; & talis non vocabitur Rex, niſi poſtquam habuerit de Reginâ filium varonem, & quando fuerit in congregatione maritus Reginæ, ibit in manu mancâ, & maritus non ponet in capite coronam Regni.* Proſigue el cap. 8. *Sit iſta Lex in ſempiternum, quod prima filia Regis accipiat maritum de Portugalle, ut non veniat Regnum ad eſtraneos; & ſi caſaverit cum Principe eſtraneo non ſit Regina, quia nunquam volumus noſtrum Regnum ire for de Portugalenſibus, qui nos ſuâ fortitudine Reges fecerunt, ſine adjutorio alieno per ſuam fortitudinem, & cum ſanguine ſuo.* Dona *Iſabel* primera hija del Rey D.

Manuel ſe caſó con el Emperador *Carlos 5.* Principe eſtrangero de Portugal, como es notorio; luego no tenia derecho para ſucceder en el Reyno ſegun eſta Ley, ni conſecutivamente lo tenia ſu hijo D. *Philippe.* Eſtá en eſtas Leyes tan expreſſa la excluſion de Principe eſtrangero, que, quando no uviera mas, baſtava para que no ſe hablara mas una palabra por parte del rey de Caſtilla; y aſsi dice bien el citado Anonymo *in Appendice de jure ſucced. in Regn. Portug. d. corollar. 4.* que, *Si Caramuel alicujus numeri author eſſet, gratulandum nobis foret, quod comitia Lamecenſia probaret, quorum decretis externi Principes à ſucceßione removentur.*

Pero como el ſpirito del Caſtellano es de arguir ſiempre, ſin reparar en los medios, en la reſpueſta de que vamos tratando, *lib. 5 cap. 3. n. 30.* dice: *Eſta ley no milita contra nueſtro derecho, porque no habla con la Emperatriz D. Iſabel; no era eſta ſereniſsima Senora hija de Rey que no tenia varon. Caſoſe con el invictiſsimo Ceſar D. Carlos an. de 1526. y eſte ano vivian ſus hermanos &c. luego, ſuppueſto que tenia finco hermanos varones no hablava della la Ley que decia: Si Rex Portugallia non habuerit maſculum, &c.* Eſta conſideracion es

contra

contra la mente de la Ley como diremos mas abaxo; y aunque essa respuesta nos faltara, queda confundido, advertiendo que, quando mucho, dava salida a aquellas palabras del *cap. 7.* ibi: *Si Rex Portugalliæ non habuerit masculum*, &c. Pero no dá satisfacion al *cap.* 8. que se sigue; en el qual los Legisladores, preveniendo todo esto, decretaron absolutamente: *Sit ista Lex in sempiternum, quod prima filia Regis accipiat maritum de Portugalle.* Siempre, y en todo caso ordenaron que la primera hija del rey casasse con Portuguez, *ut non veniat regnum ad estraneos*, porque aconteciendo que (por muerte de los hermanos o otra causa) le llegue el derecho de succeder, no venga el reyno a estrangero; este peligro quiso la Ley prevenir, y esta explicacion de *Caramuel* quiso la Ley atajar.

Mas el no cessa de instar por otro medio; *Esta Senora* (dice) *accepit virum de Portugal*; *se casó con persona noble de Sangre Real, y Portuguesa*; *porque se casó con D. Carlos de Austria, y Portugal descendiente de D. Duarte* 1. *Rey de Portugal como refieren todas las historias*; prosigue llamando a *Philippe* 1. padre de *Carlos*, *Philippe de Austria, y Portugal*; y a su aguelo, *Maximiliano de*

Auſtria, y Portugal; devió hallar en la libreria del Principe de Ligne (que tanto alaba) algunos eſcritores que dan tal appellido aquellos Principes; pudiera hacernos favor de comunicarlos, y ſi no diremos que por ſu guſto baptiza con nombres nuevos los que ſon muertos há docientos anõs.

Esfuerça la inſtancia deſta manera: *Quieren los Portugueſes que aquellas palabras: vir, aut nobilis de Portugal, ſignifiquen lugar de nacimiento: y expoſiciones ſemejantes dan a los Flamencos y Alemanes occaſiones de decir que los Senores Eſpanoles no ſaben la lenga Latina.* Ahora recobrarán el credito por la elegancia conque el interpreta en Latin. *recuperare* por, *conquiſtar*, como hemos viſto *n.*21. Proſigue: *Nobilis Toletanus, ſe llama el cavallero que nació en Toledo; pero, nobilis de Toleto, el que fuere de la familia de los Toledos; aun que ayi nacido en otra parte: que la particula*, de, *en rigor no ſignifica poſſeſsion, ſino derivacion.* Poco antes *en el miſmo cap.*3. *n.*29. avia dicho del Latin de aquellas Leyes: *Es el eſtilo müi conforme al tiempo, y occaſion, antiguo, y militar; no ay que examinar ſi es Ciceroniano.* Y ahora lo examina *en rigor*, pues ſepa que en rigor la particula,

de,

de, de ſu naturaleſa de nota cauſa proxima, e immediata, *l.1. §. fin. ff. de incend; ruin; & naufr; Mantic. de conject. ult. vol. lib.11. tit.12. n.17. Tiraq. ceſſ. cauſ. limit. 20; n.31. verſic; nam & dictio, de;* y ſignifica immediata materia de la qual ſe hace, o ſale alguna coſa, como ſi ſe dice, *de progenie filii.* Ex Bald. *conſ 336, quæritur utrum lib.3. Aug. Barboſ. de dict; dict. 76. n.8;* adonde *n.3* nota que eſta diccion, *de*, no ſignifica cauſa remota, ſino ſegun la materia de que ſe habla, y quando conſta que aſsi lo quiſo el diſponente.

Continua: que, *de*, no ſignifica ſino derivacion; *Y ſe pone a todos los ſobrenombres de la nobleſa para diſtinguir las familias; decimos, Maria de Medicis, no, Maria Medicorum*: que coſas arraſtra tan remotas! Si quiere pruebas de Gramatica Latina, no contento con el derecho alegado, vea Ambroſio Calepin. *in dict; de*, que en lo que toca al ſentido no hace la differencia de genitivo a ablativo con, *de*; en eſta materia; antes dice: *de eodem genere, id eſt, ejuſdem generis*; y deſte modo uſó Ciceron 4. Tuſc. *afflictio* (inquit,) *deſperatio, & ſi qua ſunt de genere eodem*; los ſobrenombres de las familias acertaron a introducirſe de aquella manera, y en mu-

chos uvo particular raçon que fuera prolixidad demoſtrar aquy.

Replîca: *Si no ſe puede llamar D. Philippe de Portugal, por no aver nacido en Portugal, tan poco ſe podrá llamar D. Philippe de Auſtria, pues es cierto que no nació en Auſtria.* No es buena comparacion de la Sangre de Auſtria heredada ſiempre por linea varonil, de que el Rey Catholico es cabeça, con la Sangre de Portugal participada por una aguela tan remota, de que no heredó coſa alguna; mas puede llamarſe como quiſiere; el punto es, que nunca aſsi ſe llamó; ni, aunque ſe llamara, le hacia eſſo ſer natural de Portugal, como requiere la ley; cuya mente devemos mirar; que (dice el Iuriſconſulto *in l. ſcire leges* 17. *ff. de legib.*) ſaber Leyes, no es pegar a ſus palabras, ſino conformar con ſu entendimiento; pues la Ley es pueſta a las coſas, y no a las palabras; *l.* 2. *C. com. de legat*; y por eſſo pecca contra la Ley el que obra contra la voluntad de la Ley, aunque no contra ſus palabras. *L. contra legem* 29. *ff. de legib: l. non dubium, C. eodem.* Qual es la raçon de nueſtra Ley? ella la declara *d. cap* 8. deciendo. *Sea eſta Ley para ſiempre, que la primera hija del Rey tome marido de Portugal,* para

para que no venga el Reyno a estrangeros, y si casare con Principe estrangero, no sea Reyna, porque nunca queremos que nuestro Reyno vaya fuera de los Portugueses, que nos hicieron Reyes con su esfuerço, sin ayuda agena, por su valor, y con su sangre. Esta raçon milita en el caso presente, en que no solo vino a heredar un Principe estrangero, mas tambien unia este Reyno a otras coronas, sometiendolo a gobierno de Castellanos; luego la Ley se há de complir en el; conforme a la regla *de la l. illud* 32. *ff. ad leg. Aquil. cum vulgar.* Y lo que la Ley prohibe directê, no se puede hacer indirectê; *d. d. per tx' ibi in l. seius* 27. *ff. ad Leg. falcid. Cardin. Tusc. verbo, prohibitio Concl.* 900. *per tot maximè ad nostrum casum, n.* 5. *&* 7. Lo que tiene aun mas fuerça siendo constituido por utilidad publica del Reyno, *ad l. jus publicum* 38. *ff. de pact*; la qual utilidad consiste en que el natural trata los vassallos con amor, y gobierna el reyno con noticia, lo que faltando en el estrangero, es causa de confusion, y total ruina, *admitte ad te alienigenam, & subvertet te in turbine, & abalienabit te à viis propriis*; *eccleſiast.* 11. por esso es grande amenaça delos reynos en la sagrada escritura darlos Dios a otra gente; *Eccles.*

cleſ. 10. *Regnum à gente in gentem transferetur*; e Hyerem. *tren. c.*5. ſe duele: *Hæreditas noſtra verſa eſt ad alienos, domus noſtra ad extraneos*; e Iſayas *cap.* 10. *Regionem veſtram coram vobis alieni devorant*. Por eſto en el Deuteronomio *cap.*17. ſe manda: *Conſtitues regem quem Dominus Deus elegerit de medio fratrum tuorum*; *non poteris alterius gentis hominem regem facere qui non ſit frater tuus*. Y a eſte exemplo *en el Concilio Toletano* 6. Fue prohibido que no ſe elegieſſe en Heſpana rey eſtrangero; como refiere Molina, *lib.* 1. *de primog. c.*2. *n.*11, alegando las *l.* 1. *y* 2. *del fuero juzgo* por las quales en tiempo de los Godos ſe prohibió lo miſmo; y en el del rey D. *Pelayo* ſe hiço Ley que las hembras que uvieſſen de ſuceder en la Corona caſaſſen con natural del reyno; *Illa, magnatorum Gothorum providentia, de nobilioribus Gothis accipiat virum de quo regalis poſteritas conſervetur*. Refierela Molin. *in Annot. ad fin. lib. de maior. n.*3. a eſtos exemplos fue eſtablecida nueſtra Ley, exprimiendo que la hija del rey que caſaſſe con Principe eſtrangero perdieſſe el derecho de ſuceder; caſó con eſtrangero D. *Iſabel* hija del rey D. *Manuel*; por ella entró el rey de Caſtilla a fuerça de armas en Portugal;

Portugal; y despues a cá con bien lastimosa experiencia conocemos *quæ incolis nota dispendia intulerunt hactenus peregrina regimina,* como dice el tx' *in cap. fundamenta §. dignè de elect. in 6.*

Acrecienta Caramuel *d. cap. 3. n. 32. quando los Senores Portugueses hisieren Semejantes discursos, tienen obligacion de darnos licencia para reir tales ponderaciones;* como pueden los Portugueses negarle la licencia que Dios, y naturaleza le dieron en su genio para hacer quanto quisiere *quod natura dedit, nemo negare potest.* Albricias puede dar, porque le asseguro que tiene mas licencias de las que piensa.

Sigue su porfia *n.* 33. deciendo que quando D. *Beatriz* hija de Rey de Portugal D. *Fernando* casó con D. *Iuan* 1. Rey de Castilla, moviendose entonces la misma difficultad, se declaró en cortes que era heredera legitima, porque bastava que el Castellano fuesse visnieto del Rey de Portugal D. *Alfonso* 4. no sabemos de tal declaracion; mas, si la uviera, *Est rogare ducum species violenta jubendi;* era Rey D *Fernando,* claro está que no podian los vassallos negarle la succession para su hija; pero no sê si se acuerda *Caramuel* de como lo executaron muerto el Rey; si

se ſatisfaſe de lo que entonces se hiço, ya lo tiene; el Rey D. *Iuan* 4. lo executa oy puntualmente, como el Rey D. *Juan* 1. lo executó entonces.

Recurre *n.*34. al exemplo del Imperio, adonde ay Ley que priva devoz paſsiva al que no fuere Aleman; y con todo *n* 35. recita que *Federico* 2. no fue juſgado incapaz, aunque nacido en Sicilia, porque ſu padre *Henrico* 6, avia ſido Aleman; aſsi *Carlos* 5. y *Fernando* 1. *aquel nacido en Gante de Flandes, eſte en Medina de Caſtilla, hijos de Philippe* 1. *nacido en Bruxas, pero nietos del Emperador Maximiliano* 1. *que era Aleman por ſangre, y nacimiento.* El miſmo se reſponde por nueſtra parte; eran aquellos Principes por padres, y aguelos, Alemanes, ſiendolo el padre, tambien lo es el hijo; ſi *Carlos* 5. fuera hijo de Portuguez, o, alo menos, el padre de ſu padre uviera ſido Portuguez; pudieramos llamarle Portuguez, como llamariamos Portuguez al Principe D. *Miguel* hijo de nueſtro rey D *Manuel*, aunque nació en Caſtilla; pero dicir que *Carlos* 5. fue Portuguez, porque una viſaguela (de ocho viſaguelos que tuvo) fue Portugueſa, es coſa müi diſparatada; y ſi fue Portuguez, como le juſgaron los Electores por Aleman?

Aleman ? o, ſi era Aleman, como era Portuguez? deſta manera no ay hombre en el mundo que no ſea natural de todas las provincias juntamente, pues parece quaſi impoſsible que dexe de tener algun aſcendiente, aunque remoto, en todas; y la ley de *P*ortugal jamas tendria lugar, maiormente hablando de *P*rincipes, que, caſando ſiempre con otros eſtrangeros, ſe podran aſsi llamar naturales de todas las naciones.

Inſiſte *n.* 37. que la Ley referida de D. *Pelayo* mandava *que la Infanta que avia de ſucceder en la corona de nobilioribus Gottis accipiat virum; y bien ſabemos que los que ſe llamaban Godos no avian nacido en la elada Gocia, ſino en la remplada Eſpana.* Aſsi es; porque los de Eſpana eran Godos verdaderamente nacidos de padres Godos que con ſus reyes ſe paſſaron a Heſpana, y continuaron ſiempre en la miſma forma; como tambien ſon verdaderos *P*ortugueſes los que habitan oy las Indias Orientales tan remotas de *P*ortugal, aunque ſus aſcendientes ſalieron de *P*ortugal ha tantos anós. Mas que comparacion tiene eſto con nueſtro caſo, en que un principe totalmente eſtrangero, reconoce una ſola viſaguela *P*ortugueſa? de mas deſto aquella Ley ciertamente

habla de los Godos nacidos en Heſpana; porque es claro que no manda que ſe vaya buſcar uno a la Gocia; por eſſo es fuerça que la entendamos dellos; la nueſtra que habla de Portuguez, de Portuguez en rigor deve ſer entendida.

Concluye *n.*38. que *Leyes ay civiles, y Eccleſiaſticas que mandan que beneficios, y dignidades publicas no ſe den a eſtranos; y por eſtrano ſolo entienden al que no deſciende de aquel reyno, muchos lugares cite en la pag.* 423. *de mi Filipe* (yo la leî, y no hallo qui aya citado alguno para eſto, para lo contrario ſi) *pudiera anadir muchos que he ido obſervando poco apoco* (y nos holgaramos de verlos) *pero es iluſtre uno que ſe halla cap. bonæ* 2. *verſic. intelleximus de poſt. prælat; cuyas palabras merecen que ſe pongan aquy; non poteramus* (dicen) *ſalvá conſcientiá eidem Eccleſiæ in aliá perſoná niſi quæ de regno Hungariæ originem duceret congruè providere, nec vellemus ei præficere alienam: no admitten peregrinos; eſtranos, ni alienigenas; Hungaros ſolos ſon los que pueden ſer promovidos a ſemejantes dignidades, y entienden por Hungaros no los que an nacido en Hungria, ſino los que de regno Hungariæ originem ducerent; los que deſcienden de anteceſſo-*

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res que fueron naturales del reyno. La alegacion Portugueſa de donde ſaca todo, le moſtró aquel texto *illatione 4. n. 63.* y le dió traſladadas las palabras; y porque ella no le reſpondió porque antes lo truxo por nueſtra parte) pienſa que no tiene reſpueſta, y le llama texto *iluſtre*; pero es tan iluſtre, que no es texto; porque adonde algunos codices tienen: *In aliá perſoná niſi quæ de regno Hungariæ originem duceret*; tienen otros, y ſon la maior parte, *In aliâ perſonâ quæ de regno Hungariæ originem duceret*; ſin la palabra, *niſi*, como advierte *la gloſa marginal*; que viene aſer todo lo contrario; y teniendo el texto varias letras,, y entendimientos no puede ſer alegado como texto; *probat Iaſ. in lect. l. admonend. n. 67. & 68. ff. de jurejur.* Y quando pudira ſer alegado, era en nueſtro favor; porque en las antiguas, y mejores copilaciones no eſtá la palabra, *niſi*; como teſtifica la miſma gloſa, ibi: *In quibuſdam vulgaribus hic inſeritur dictio, niſi, quæ nec in antiquis, nec in veteri copilatione habetur.* Y aſsi dice: *Non poteramus ſalvâ conſcientiâ eidem Eccleſiæ in aliá perſonâ quæ de Regno Hungariæ originem duceret congruè providere*; que no podia en conſciencia proveer en aquella igleſia

persona que truxesse origen de Hungria; porque era necessario ser nacida en el mismo reyno. Y aunque confessaramos a *Caramuel* las palabras que quiere, tenian facil respuesta; deciendo, que o en Hungria no avia prohibicion tan particular como en nuestro Reyno, porque el tx' no habla della, y aun assi no se atrevia el Papa aproveer sino en persona que tuviesse origen Hungara; o, si la avia, se entendia solamente mientras se hallassen naturales habiles, y capaces de las dignidades; como dice Caramuel *d. disp. 8. q.4. art.2. n.48.* desta capacidad de persona natural declara el summo Pontifice que no tiene noticia bastante; ibi: *Quia verò non plenam de personis illius regni notitiam habebamus, ideoque non poteramus salvá conscientiá, &c.* Estava la iglesia vaca con grandes controvercias de que trata el texto, fue menester proveerla, mas por satisfaser ala consciencia buscó persona que por lo menos tuviesse origen de Hungria; porque en ningun caso queria proveer totalmente estrangero; ibi: *Nec vellemus ei præficere alienam;* no militava esto en Portugal en que un natural dignissimo concurria con un estrangero reprovado por la Ley.

Finalmente en la misma Ley de Portugal vemos

vemos que excluye totalmente del derecho, o esperança de succeder la hija de rey que no se casare con Portuguez nacido de padres Portugueses, y dentro de Portugal, sin admittir otra suerte qual quiera de Sangre Portuguesa; prueba se de la raçon que dá en el cap. 8. *ut non veniat regnum ad estraneos*, y otra vez, *quia nunquam volumus nostrum regnum ire for de Portugallensibus.* Por ventura quando dixo que no queria que el reyno fuesse a estrãgero, entendió del marido de la princesa? no, porque esse aunque fuesse Portuguez, no era Rey, ni tendria el nombre de rey hasta tener della hijo varon; como dispone *el cap. 7.* y aun despues de tenerlo: *Maritus Reginæ* (nunca le llama Rey) *ibit in manu mancâ* (hoc est siniſtrâ) *& non ponet in capite coronam Regni*, entendió, pues, por estrangero el hijo de la propria Reyna nacido de padre estrangero, en el qual hijo vió la Ley que podia mas el padre para hacerlo estrangero, que la madre para hacerlo Portuguez; conforme al derecho que dice que la muger es principio, y fin de su familia; y passa de la familia de sus padres, a la del marido; pues, si vemos que la Ley juzgó por estrangero el hijo de su propria reyna Portuguesa; no siendo hijo de

de padre Portuguez, como ſe podrá decir que no juſgó por eſtrangero a un biſnieto de una Infanta que ni fue reyna?

En quaſi toda Europa, y particularmente en Caſtilla eſtá prohibido dar dignidades, o officios publicos a eſtrangero. Pregunto a *Iuan Caramuel*, ſi un Inglez, o un Francez, que tuvo una vilàguela Caſtellana, fuere, a Caſtilla pedir un officio, daranſele ſin mũi ſpecial diſpenſacion? ſi reſponde que no, juſga contra ſi, ſi reſponde que ſi, es ſu maior diſcredito, pues toda Europa platîca lo contrario.

En confirmacion de eſtos titulos que llamaron la Señora D. *Catalina* a la ſucceſsion, hallo un exemplo en la miſma Corona de Portugal por muerte del rey D. *Iuan* 2. Eran ſus primos hermanos, y parientes mas proximos D. *Manuel* Duque de Beja, y el Emperador *Maximiliano*, aquel hijo del Infante D. *Fernando*; eſte de la Emperatriz D. *Leonor*, hermano, y hermana del rey D. *Alphonſo* 5. padre de D. *Juan*. Sabemos que *Maximiliano* Emperador adſpirava al reyno, y nos lo cuenta el Autor que ultimamente eſcrivió la vida de D. *Iuan* 2. referiendo la diligencia que eſte rey hiço con el Emperador ſobre

bre esto en favor de D. *Jorge* su hijo ilegitimo y segun el derecho que los Philippistas quieren, pues que los pretendientes eran entrambos varones, e iguales en grado, no aviendo representacion, ni derecho *de agnacion*, o mejor *linea*, y no prejudicando a *Maximiliano* la dicha Ley que excluye estrangero, el devia ser preferido (como diximos *n.*) por ser de maior edad; porque nació en el ano de 1459, *como escrive Elias Reusnero in genealogico*, y los mas historiadores; y D. *Manuel* en el ano de 1469, *Segun Mariz dial.4. cap.19. Damian de Goes, y todos los Portugueses*; y con todo succedió D. *Manuel*; sin duda fue por alguno de los titulos alegados; por representacion no, porque siendo primos del ultimo posseedor estavan ya fuera del grado a que ella se concede; mas tuvo fuerça el ser D. *Manuel* agnado por hijo de varon; quando *Maximiliano* era cognado por hijo de hembra; y por la misma raçon el estar D. *Manuel* en mejor linea; a que se juntava ser *Maximiliano* hijo de D. *Leonor* que casando con el Emperador *Federico* 3 Principe estrangero; avia, por la Ley de Lamego, perdido el derecho de succeder, y assi el hijo no podia pretender por su medio.

Con todo loqual queda moſtrado quan ſin fundamento es el quarto titulo que *Caramuel* propone; pues la Sen. *D. Catalina* precedió al Rey *D. Philippe* no ſolo por el derecho de *Repreſentacion*; ſino tambien por el de *Agnacion*, y mejor *linea*; y por ſer natural del Reyno, teniendo de ſu parte tantos titulos juntos; quando baſtava uno ſeparado.

PARTE

PARTE V.

Convence el quinto titulo que propone Iuan Caramuel, paginá 72. con eſtas palabras.

Es verdadero Rey de Portugal Don *Philippe* el Grande por ſer legitimo, y abſoluto Senor de toda Eſpana, contra Don *Juan* Duque de Bergança, que uſurpó la corona, y funda ſu derecho en la declaracion, y acclamacion del vulgo amotinado.

Trata de probarlo en todo el libro 6. y lo toca lib. 1. tit. D. Philippe 3. y lib. 5. cap. 4. 5. y 6.

35. CONfuſamente involve tres puntos; 1º. Que eſtando el Catholico Rey D. *Philippe* en poſſeſſion de Portu-

gal, no podia el ſereniſsimo Rey D. *Iuan* excluirlo. 2°. Que no le dá juſticia la declaracion, y acclamacion del pueblo En 3°. lugar cenſura algunos papeles que ha viſto ſobre eſta materia.

36. Quanto a lo primero; avemos viſto *en la 4 p^e.* el derecho que llamava a la Sen. D. *Catalina* a la ſucceſsion del Rey D. *Henrique* ſu tyo, excluyendo al Rey de Caſtilla; contra eſte derecho uſurpó el Caſtellano la corona por fuerça de armas guovernadas por el Duque de Alva, ſin quèrer venir al juiſio a que fuellamado, como todo confieſſa Caramuel *in Philip. lib. 5. in Proœm. §. 2. & diſp. 3. q^e. 1. Art 1. & q^e. 2. Art. 4. & 5.* dexó aquella Princeſa ſu accion a ſu hijo primogenito el ſereniſsimo Duque D. *Theodoſio*, qué proteſtó por ella; y eſte a ſu primogenito el ſereniſsimo Duque D *Iuan*, que hallando oportunidad ſe reſtituyó al reyno de que por violencia eſtava deſpojado, uſando del derecho natural, derecho de las gentes, y derecho ciuil que le concedió reſtituirſe por fuerça a aquello de que por fuerça, eſtava privado; *Iuxta Reg. L. ut vimff, de juſt. & jure.*

Sin

Sin que sea de impedimento auer estes principes jurado por Rey al de Castilla ; porque siendo el juramento (como es notorio) echo por tan grande violencia, no fue de momento alguno, *auth. Sacramenta puberum C. si adversus vend* ; *cap. cum contingat de jure Iur. cap. quamvis de pact. in 6. Thom. Gramat. consi.* 91. *n.* 4. *Corneus consi.* 11. *col.* 6. *lib.* 3. *Gratus responso* 71. *lib.* 1. y quando, por seguir la opinion mas segura en consciencia digamos que del tal juramento nace alguna obligacion,(para con Dios, *ut innuitur in cap. verum, & in cap. si vero de jure jur* ; porque para con los hombres no ay alguna, *como explica Santo Thomas y Caietano* 2. 2. *q.* 89 *artic.* 7.) Essa se quita impetrandose absolucion, segun la opinion commun *de qua Cov. in epit. de sponsal. parte* 2. *cap.* 3. *§* 5. *n.* 2. *Seraphin. Senens. de privileg. juram privilegio* 110. La qual absolucion se concede, y deve conceder con mucha facilidad quando el juramento contiene injusticia ; (como este) es doctrina commun, *ut per Castrens. in L. si quis pro eo n.* 6. *ff. de fidejussor* ; *Anchbarran. Consi.* 375. *Nata consi.* 144. *Cravet consi.* 152. *n.* 11. *& consi.* 192.

n. 11. porque el juramento no deve ser vinculo de iniquidad. *cap. animadvertendum* 22. *q.* 2. *cap. & si Christus de jurejur.* ni ayudar al dolo. *d. cap. cum contingat eod. tit.* antes deve tener tres companeros, justicia, verdad, y juisio *d. cap. & si Christus.* Lo que milita con particularidad en nuestro caso, en que estos Principes protestaron authenticamente que avian jurado por fuerça, la qual protestacion les conservó su dercho, *L. sed debitor* § .1. *ff. quib. mod. pign. vel hypot. solv.* y declaró el animo que tenian de no consentir. *L. at si quis* §. *plerique ff. de religios, & sumpt. funer.* y el juramento no obliga, quando el consentimento falta: *L. ult. C non numer. pecun; cap. veniens; cap. Quintavallis de jurejur.*

Ni otro si le obstó prescripcion; 1°. porque esta no tiene lugar en los Reynos; como lo confiessa Caramuel *in Philip. lib.* 2. *q.* 2. *art.* 3. *y en esta respuesta lib.* 2. *cap* 1. dando por raçon ser la prescripcion inducida por el derecho civil, y governarse los Reynos por el natural. Mejor la dá el Anonymo Lusitano *in fin. tract. de jur. succed. corollario* 6. *verfic. secundò*; aquello cuyas partes no se pueden prescrivir, no se puede prescrivir todo; partes del reyno, como jurisdiccion;

cion; y otras regalias ſon inpreſcriptibles, *Vt late Azeved. ad l.1. ord. tit.15. n.36.* Luego todo el reyno no ſe puede preſcrivir. 2°. aunque uviera preſcripcion, deviera ſer de cien anos por lo menos; *ex relatis a Fachin. controvert. lib.8. cap.3. verſic. quod attinet*, y me excuſa de probarlo *Caramuel* que lo confieſſa *in Philip. lib.3. q.3. art.2.* aqui faltaron muchos para cien anos, como es notorio; luego no uvo tiempo baſtante para preſcrivir. 3°. aunque uviera tiempo mas largo, ninguno baſtara teniendo el poſſeedor mala fee, *cap. vigilanti, cap. ult de preſcript.* Confieſſa Caramuel *in Philip. lib.3. q.3. art.1. y en la reſpueſta lib.3. cap.2.* Philippe 2. entró con mala fee, porque ſabia el derecho de la ſen. D. *Catalina*, y que lo avia contraſtado con ſobornos, y fuerça; la qual ſciencia induſe mala fee; *cap. ſi virgo 34. q.3. Bart. in L. Celſus n.18. de uſu cap. Cov. in regula poſſeſſor malæ fidei §.11. poſt. n.3.* y quando quiera decirſe que entendia tener juſticia, no podrá negar que fue citado para el pleito, como confieſſa Caramuel *in Philip. lib.5. in proœm. §.2.* y que no quiſo venir a juiſio, como dice *d. lib.5. diſp.3. q.2. art.4. et 5.* y es cierto que por conteſtacion de la cauſa

ſe

ſe induce mala fee ; *L. nemo C. acquir poſſes ; L. Jed & ſi lege §. ſi ante ff. petit. hæred.* contra el contumaz ſe uvo por conteſtada ; y aun que no ſe uviera por tal ; baſtara ſer inquietado por la citacion, para no poder preſcrivir, pueſto que deſpues poſſeieſſe ſin demanda por largo tiempo ; *bonus tx. in l.1. C. præſcript. longi tempor ; Fachin. controv. lib.1. c.60. verſic probatur.* el qual vicio de mala fee paſſó alos ſucceſſores, *L. vitia C. acquir. poſſes.* y aſsi no podian preſcrivir, a un en caſo negado que tuvieſſen buena fee ; *Fachin. d. lib.1. cap.66. per L. cum hæres de diverſ. & tempor. præſcrip. & L. nec uſumfructuarium C. de uſu cap. pro hærede. juvat. l. ult. C. unde vi.* 4°. aun que el poſſeedor fuera de buena fee, eſtava tan poderoſo por mar, y tierra, y tenia el Reyno tan preſidiado, que no podia el ſereniſsimo duque de Braganca tratar de cobrar lo que le era devido ; y entonces entran las reglas de derecho, que el tiempo de la preſcripcion no curre contra el que eſtá impedido ; *l.1. §. ult. C. de an. except.* porque la preſcripcion fue induſida contra ſolos los deſcuidados, arg. L. *ut pefectius in princ. C. illo tit.* y ſi bien puede replicar que eſta regla procede aviendo

aviendo impedimento de derecho; pero no quando lo ay de facto, como el que aquy consideramos; segun la distinccion de Bart. *in L. & Atilicinus* 35. *ff. servit. rustic.* se satisfaze respondiendo, que si esse impedimento de facto no tiene fuerça para impedir el curso de la prescripcion *ipso jure*, lo reduce a nada (*como dice el mismo Bart. y todos los dd.*) per via de restitucion por la clausula general; *Vt in l. senatus consulto* 16. *de offic. præsid. l. item ei* 14. *cum seq. l. si quis Titio* 41. *l. si quis stipulatus, l. sed & si per prætorem* 26. *in princ. & in §. si feriæ ff. ex quib. caus. maior; l. ab hostibus* 6. *C. quib. non objicitur long. temp. præscr. cap. prima actione* 16. *q.* 3. *cap. ex transmissá de præscript.*

37. En lo 2º. aun que el Rey Catholico tuviera derecho a la succesion de Portugal, es notorio que sus ministros, vendiendo la justicia, tiranisando los pueblos, y confundiendo el gobierno, sin que fuesse posible que su Magestad lo remediasse, pusieron este reyno glorioso en estado tan miserable que pudieran bien los vassallos, dexando el Principe debaxo cuyo poder eran destruidos, elegir un nuevo, que los regiesse como Dios manda, bolviendo al dere-

cho de las gentes, *de quo in l. ex hoc jure ff. de just. & jure*; concurriendo mas el averle quebrantado todos los privilegios, y capitulaciones que avia jurado quando entró en el reyno, con que el contrato condicional se resolvia de la parte de los sujetos, puesto que no tuviera las nulidades, e injusticias de que hablamos ya.

Pero la modestia obligó aque no usando desta facultad para excluir un tal Principe por camino semejante, sirviessen aquellas causas solamente de stimulo a los coraçones para restituir lo que se devia a su dueno; y assi se engana *Caramuel* pensando que el serenissimo Rey de Portugal se funda en acclamacion de los pueblos; todo su fundamento es en el derecho hereditario que tenia; ni dice otra cosa el manifiesto Portuguez *n.* 19. pues solo alega la acclamacion de los pueblos en testimonio del derecho que reconocieron; ibi *sobre el derecho que tenia* (el Sereniſſimo D. *Juan*) *alcançó la declaracion del pueblo*; declaracion no hace de nuevo; solo declara lo que ya era; y aun que nos valieramos de acclamacion, no se seguia algun derecho para el Rey *Philippe* 2; como quiere Caramuel *en esta respuesta lib.* 5. *cap.* 4. *n.* 42;

n.42; porque no tuvo acclamacion alguna; ſino un reconocimiento de los pueblos forçados con exercitos, y ſuſtentados con preſidios; y la ſentencia que alega de los gobernadores nombrados por el ultimo Rey D. *Henrique* fue verdaderamente ridicula; porque no ſentenciaron todos como devian; y eſſos que fueron en ella la pronunciaron en Ayamonte villa de Caſtilla fuera del territorio de Portugal, yaſsi ſin jurisdiccion; y finalmente oprimidos con el juſto miedo de eſtar en poder de la miſma parte. Servió ſolo la llamada ſentencia de hacer entonces patente el animo del Rey de Caſtilla, y ahora la inadvertencia deſte Eſcritor; pues mientras era citado para juiſio recto, y ſin ſoſpecha no quiſo parecer, deciendo qne los Reyes no reconocian juezes, como argumenta, y concluye *in Philip. lib.5. diſp.3. q.2. art.4. & 5*; y deſpues que tuvo los juezes echos ſus priſioneros dice que ſon legitimos; y que la ſentencia es mũi juridica; coſa es eſta en que devieran reparar mucho, porque no ſe puede decir ſin diſcredito grande.

38. Lo 3º. y principal de que trata eſte libro 6. es de cenſurar, (como diximos) algunos papeles que ſalieron a luz ſobre eſta materia; en lo qual

hare poca demora, porque no ſoy obligado a reſponder a palabras, ſino a raçones; apuntaré ſolamente pocos lugares que eſte Eſcritor calumnîa en aquellos papeles, para que de la raçon dellos ſe vea la de los demas.

Es el primero que cenſura *c.* 1. el parabien que dió la ciudad de Lisboa al rey nueſtro Señór empeçando la platica aſsi: *Muito alto, E poderoſo Rey prometido monarcha de outro novo Imperio.* Burlaſe lengaraz del *otro nuevo Imperio*, o del *otro nueſtro Imperio*, (como el traſladó mal, aunque viene a ſer lo miſmo) y no halló otra coſa que reprobar. Mũi uſadas ſon aluſiones en occaſiones ſemejantes; aquy ſe aludió a las profecias cuyo complimiento començamos a ver, y veremos perfetas, por mas que embidioſos rabien; confieſſa el miſmo algunas (porque no ſupo de todas) *in Philip. lib.* 5. *diſp.* 8. *q.* 4. *art.* 2. *n.* 52. Y viene a negar un milagro authentico con eſcandalo notable; como ya diximos, 1. *p. n.* 5. *&, veo.*

El 2o que muerde *c.* 2. es una carta que eſcribió Portugal a los Principes Chriſtianos; habla contra ella mucho, pero viene a decir nada; por deſcargarſe de las irreverencias que ally ſe

refieren

refieren echas a las cenſuras eccleſiaſticas; no oppone por reconvencion, (a fuer de mugercilla que combate de palabras con otra) *No tuvimos Rey que eſtuvieſſe doze anos eſcomulgado; ni monarcha que menoſpreciando cenſuras Pontificias condenaſe a tenebroſas carceles ſu propria madre, porque no queria reſignar el dominio; ni Principe que celebraſe dos matrimonios juntos a peſar del Pontifice.* Pareçe que no ſabe que quando nueſtro Rey D. *Sancho* 1. eſtuvo eſcomulgado, lo eſtavan tambien el Rey *D. Alfonſo* 9. de Leon; y el Rey D. *Henrique* 1. de Caſtilla por la miſma cauſa, que era ſer eſtos dos Reyes caſados con D. Tereſa, y D. Maſalda ſus primas hijas del Portuguez, ſin preceder diſpenſacion, es meneſter leer mas de hiſtorias para eſcrivir; y en ellas hallará tambien la incertidumbre que ay de la priſion de la madre del Rey D. *Alfonſo Henriques*, que dá por cierta; y otro ſi verá que nueſtro D. *Alfonſo* 3. celebró aquel ſegundo matrimonio con D. *Beatriz* hija del Rey de Caſtilla D. *Alfonſo* el ſàbio; y conſidere qual fue peor, ſi caſarſe el Portuguez y no querer dexarla por conveniencia y por amor; o darle

el Caſtellano la hija para un acto tan reprovado, como dice; pero baſte que no ſerá poderoſo el exexemplo de *Caramuel* para que acuſemos a Principes tan Catholicos como fueron ſiempre los de Leon, y Caſtilla.

En 3°. lugar *cap.* 3. ſe atreve a tratar de dos ſermones que predicó a la Mageſtad del rey nueſtro Senor. el reverendo Padre *Fr. Juan* de San *Bernardino*, cuyas grandes letras deviera venerar con admiracion, ſi no fueran tan ſuperiores a ſu capacidad; con chiſtes indignos de hombre le llama, *Seraphico juriſconſulto*, ſin mirar que le puenden llamar a el, *Juriſconſulto Bernardo.* Y mas en occaſion en que repite ſu celebre ſylogiſmo ſobre la repreſentacion, tan acer tado, como ſuio; de que tratamos 4. *p. n.* 30. Accuſa las palabras ſazonadas de aquel docto varon por indignas del pulpito, del qual y de la Theologia eſte accuſador eſtá tan ageno como mueſtran eſtas que pone al principio de aquel capitulo. *En la encarnacion es milagro que dos naturaleſas ſe unan hypoſtaticamente, y en Portugal ſin milagro ninguno ueo unidas hypoſtaticamente naturaleſas repugnantes.* Con eſte indecente modo de hablar *en el tratado de ſu Philippe* hace mil uniones

ones hypoſtaticas ; lo que viendo el erudito *Anonymo* otras veſes citado *in fine tranſlationis de jure ſucced. corol.4. in fine* reprehendiendolo en otros puntos dice : *Quod ego ſtupori potius mentis, ut ejus famæ conſulam, tribuo, quam vitio voluntatis. Cui illud argumento ſit, quod cùm unam tantùm agnoſcant Theologi hypoſtaticam unionem in verbo incarnato, ille tertio quoque verbo in rebus humanis hypoſtaticas uniones inveniat, & tamen bonus vir, & videri, & dici Theologus amat.* Con mas raçon podemos eſtranár el exceſſo con que los predicadores Caſtellanos proceden en eſta materia ; que obligó a que (entre otros) fueſſe reprehendido dello en Madrid el Pe, *Auguſtin* de Caſtro de la Campania de Ieſus, con mandato de que predicaſe mas ſpiritual, y menos Caſtellano. Reprueba finalmente el referir que hombres doctos, y univerſidades conſultadas reſpondieron por la ſen. D. *Catalina* ; deciendo *buſcar dotor que ſiguieſſe la parcialidad del de Berganca es ir a los Antipodas ſiguieron la parcialidad de Antonio pocos ; la de Catalina de Medices alguno, la de Bergança nadie.* Falto de memoria es el Padre, pues no ſe acuerda que *en ſu Philippe lib.5. in proæm. n.10.* hiſo un titulo aſsi ; *Apologia*

pro

pro Catharina Duciſſa Braganca: y commiença: *Pro ſereniſsimâ Infante Catharinâ ſcripſerunt quam plurimi, ſed tantummodo mihi noti ſequentes.* Y luego nombra treſe dotores; ſin ir alos Antipodas los hallamos en ſu libro; o de los Antipodas es ſu libro, pues cierto parece coſa de otro mundo, y adverteſe que en el miſmo *proæm. n.*12. pone por titulo: *libri pro Cathloico Rege*; y nombra ſolos quatro hiſtoriadores; ninguno juriſta; ſegun loqual podemos mejor decir que ninguno eſcrivió por el rey *Philippe.*

En el *cap.*4. habla de papeles que en lengua Flamenca ſe publicaron en Holanda. En uno nota que llama al ſereniſsimo D. Iuan, *Rey en Portugal*, y no, *Rey de Portugal*, y arguye que rey de una provincia ſe llama el legitimo; y rey en ella, el intruſo; y que eſto quiſo ſignificar ſu Autor; mas la differencia que hace no tiene ſubſtancia; es modo de hablar de cada uno; la miſma propriedad tienen entrambos; quien nombra, *Rey*, ſimpleſmente, dice, legitimo; el que no lo es, ſe llama, *tirano*, o ſe acrecienta palabra que lo demonſtre. y que lo dixera el Holandes, o otro con malicia, que importava? lo miſmo que importa lo que dice *Iuun Caramuel.*

Pro

Prosigue contra el Autor de otro papel, accusandole que no sabe las historias, y, si es assi, bien pueden argumentar entrambos, dexemoslos en su disputa, pues que los puntos della no tocan a nuestro caso.

Passa en el *cap.* 5. aun libro *Anonymo* intitulado, *Portugallia, seu de Regis Portugalliæ Regnis, & opibus.* Si quiero apretar lo què sobre el discurre, se deshace en humo, y assi no hallo como absolverle, ni condenarle.

El *cap.* 6. censura un Panegirico publicado en Pariz, o, por mejor decir, quiere ostentar la erudicion de *Caramuel* en las lenguas Griega, y Hebraica, no encuentra nuestro derecho que las sepa, concedamoselo en recompensa del Zelo con que *en el n.* 51. defiende nuestra Christiandad.

Examina *en el cap.* 8. un libro de Manuel de Moraes, segun dice, mas el examinador queda examinado, y reprovado miserablemente; porque aviendo Moraes trasladado con fidelidad unas palabras Castellanas del P. Mariana *lib.* 10 *c.* 13. dice el examinador: *estrañé estas palabras, y reconociendo el lugar citado no le reconoci, porque Mariana dice, &c.* pone las palabras de Marianna

pro Catharina Duciſſâ Bragancæ: y commiença: *Pro ſereniſsimâ Infante Catharinâ ſcripſerunt quam plurimi, ſed tantummodo mihi noti ſequentes.* Y luego nombra treſe dotores; ſin ir alos Antipodas los hallamos en ſu libro; o de los Antipodas es ſu libro, pues cierto parece coſa de otro mundo, y adverteſe que en el miſmo *proæm. n.12.* pone por titulo: *libri pro Cathloico Rege*; y nombra ſolos quatro hiſtoriadores; ninguno juriſta; ſegun loqual podemos mejor decir que ninguno eſcrivió por el rey *Philippe.*

En el *cap.4.* habla de papeles que en lengua Flamenca ſe publicaron en Holanda. En uno nota que llama al ſereniſsimo D. Iuan, *Rey en Portugal*, y no, *Rey de Portugal*, y arguye que rey de una provincia ſe llama el legitimo; y rey en ella, el intruſo; y que eſto quiſo ſignificar ſu Autor; mas la differencia que hace no tiene ſubſtancia; es modo de hablar de cada uno; la miſma propriedad tienen entrambos; quien nombra, *Rey*, ſimpleſmente, dice, legitimo; el que no lo es, ſe llama, *tirano*, o ſe acrecienta palabra que lo demonſtre. y que lo dixera el Holandes, o otro con malicia, que importava? lo miſmo que importa lo que dice *Iuun Caramuel.*

Pro

Proſigue contra el Autor de otro papel, accuſandole que no ſabe las hiſtorias, y, ſi es aſsi, bien pueden argumentar entrambos, dexemoſlos en ſu diſputa, pues que los puntos della no tocan a nueſtro caſo.

Paſſa en el *cap.* 5. aun libro *Anonymo* intitulado, *Portugallia, ſeu de Regis Portugalliæ Regnis, & opibus.* Si quiero apretar lo què ſobre el diſcurre, ſe deſhace en humo, y aſsi no hallo como abſolverle, ni condenarle.

El *cap.* 6. cenſùra un Panegirico publicado en Pariz, o, por mejor decir, quiere oſtentar la erudicion de *Caramuel* en las lenguas Griega, y Hebraica, no encuentra nueſtro derecho que las ſepa, concedamoſelo en recompenſa del Zelo con que *en el n.* 51. defiende nueſtra Chriſtiandad.

Examina *en el cap.* 8. un libro de Manuel de Moraes, ſegun dice, mas el examinador queda examinado, y reprovado miſerablemente; porque aviendo Moraes traſladado con fidelidad unas palabras Caſtellanas del P. Mariana *lib.* 10 *c.* 13. dice el examinador: *eſtrañé eſtas palabras, y reconociendo el lugar citado no le reconoci, porque Mariana dice, &c.* pone las palabras de Marianna

en Latin; y luego las traduce en Caſtellano; como quiere, accuſando al examinado de que no las ſupo traducir; *Penſè* (dice) *que ſabia latin el licenciado, pero, como veo, es graduado en la lengua vulgàr, porque a ſaber quatro conjugaciones, no confundiera ſentencias, y clauſulas contrarias.* Y es el caſo que el Moraes no hiço traducion alguna, ſino que traſladó puntualmente las palabras de la miſma traduccion que el miſmo Mariana hiſo de la hiſtoria que avia compueſto en latin, y ni eſto le baſtó para eſcapar de la lengua de *Caramuel*, ſon las palabras, hablando de Portugal: *La gente es müi deſſeoſa de honra, y müi valiente entre todas las de Eſpana, ſenalada en la templança del comer, y del veſtido, dada a la piedad, y a los eſtudios de ſabiduria, de toda humanidad y policia.* Y como la alegacion de derecho que ſe hiço por parte de la Sen. D. *Catalina*, (de donde *Caramuel* ſacó todo el tezoro de ſuſciencia, como ya moſtramos) no le dixo que el Pe *Marianna* avia compueſto la miſma hiſtoria en Caſtellano, el no lo ſabia, y accuſa al otro en lo que no ſabe, y ſiempre de dos es la una, o no ſabia que aquel hiſtoriador ſe avia traducido a ſi miſmo, y es demaſiada ignorancia para

quien

quien examina, y reprueba; o, si lo sabia, y reprobó sin verlo primero, es demasiada temeridad; que dirá ahora? yo demi digo, que si me cogieran tanto alas manos (como dicen) en semejante falta; tuviera verguença de mas tomar pluma en la mano.

Reservê para ultimo lugar la censura que *Caramuel* hiço a un papel mio, para trasladarla; tanta estimacion hago de que me aya censurado una tal persona; tomelo por la via que quisiere; glosarela para mas claridad; es *en cap. 7.* la que se sigue.

1.

Qui alium doces, te ipsum doce. *D. Paul. ad Rom.* 2.

2.

No lo agradesca a mi cordura, sino a mi olvido; que apenas me acordê que el avia escrito y ahora me acuerdo del Martial. lib. 3. Epigram. 7. *Non sorci-*

Examinase [1] *la censura que dió el dotor Sousa de Macedo al manifiesto, que publicó Don Iosef de Pellicer.*

Pareceme cuerdo este Autor Portuguez: no quiere examinar de veras la causa que demostró mi Filippe ano de 1639; [2] *y el de* 1641 *confirmó agudamente D. Iosef,*

ſcribit, cujus carmina nemo legit. Pero le reſpondo por no parecer ſoberbia el no hacerlo.

3.

No lo ſé, porque no los conoſco; a el ſi, y le tengo por curioſo, mas por ſuelto de lengua.

4.

El aplauſo del que yo cenſuré fue mandarlo recoger el Rey Catholico, porque deſacreditava mas ſu cauſa.

5.

En el Papel preſente ſe vé bien quien prevalece.

6.

Quando lo leyó devió eſtar con humor alegre;

Señor que es de la caſa de Pellicer, y chroniſta de ſu Majeſtad; perſona que en Florida edad empecó a ſer maior que ſus emulos. 3. *Y oy goſa de aplauſos, y alabanças que ſolicitan treinta y tantos libros que a inpreſſo.* 4. *Tratamos eſte punto de veras, y viendo Souſa que ſeriamente no puede prevalecer contra demonſtraciones tan claras,* 5. *Empieça a repetir para gracioſo, y reſponder de burlas.* 6. *Embaraçaſe en examinar los titulos de Don Joſef, y hace gran agravio a la Republica mordiendo con diente audaz titulos heredados, y adquiridos.* 7. *Aquellos ſon teſtimonio de la ſangre; eſtos de la virtud;*

y

alegre, pues aſsi le pareció; lo que ally ay es en obſervacion de las reglas de eſcrivir en eſte genero, que eſte examinador ignora. Lea a Quintiliano inſtitution. Orator. li. 5. cap. 13. *De refutationes* (inquit) *nonnunquam quædam bene contemnuntur; vel tanquam levia, vel tanquam ad cauſam nihil pertinentia, quod multis etiam locis facit Cicero.* Y mas abaxo. *Nonnunquam elevande invidiæ gratiá quæ aſperiùs dicta ſunt eluduntur, ut à Cicerone Triario: nam cum Scauri columnas per urbem plauſtris vectas dixit: ego porro* (inquit) *qui qui Albanas habeo columnas y no uviera monarchia bien fundada, ſi faltaſſe la virtud, y nobleſa.* 8 *Pudieramos tambien reirnos de los Suyos, por ſer titulos que nacen de la prodigalidad.* 9. *De un Rey intruſo.* 10. *Pero como es nueſtro intento tratar eſta cauſa múi de veras, el eſcrivir entremeſes ſe puede dexar papara otras perſonas que con mas deſahogo puedam ſalir deſtos empenos.* 11 *Algunos Authores cita,* 12. *Pero todos los guia, y todos los remata el Bocalino; perſona que, ſegun nos la pinta Don Antonio de Fuertes en el fin de ſus concluſiones, no merece la honra que le hace Souſa.* 13. *Pero dexando a parte cali-*

nas, clitellis eas apportavi. Y mas a nueſtro propoſito lib. 6. cap 5. de altercatione: *Neque enim refutanda tantùm quæ à contrario dicuntur, ſed contemnenda, elevanda, ridenda ſunt; nec uſquam plus loci reperit urbanitas.* Deſte ſtylo uſó Iuſto Lipſio adverſus Dialogiſtam, y el miſmo S. *Auguſtin.* contra *Pelag. & Don.*

7. Vea bien que antes admiro ſu miſterio, tanto como el del ave fenix.

8. Es tanto aſsi que por ſu falta cayó la monarchia Heſpanõla.

9. Deve llamarle *Prodigalidad*, porque no ſon vendidos como haſta ahora.

dades, y caracteres perſonales, que no tocan ala cauſa publica que ſe diſputa; ſoy de pareçer que no neceſsita de reſpueſta Author que todo ſu derecho, y juſticia le funda en burlas, 14. *Y le remata en militares armas. Digo lo, porque, deſpues de avernos entretenido con lo mordaz de ſu agudeſa, y con lo Satyrico de ſus conceptos, cierra ſu diſcurſo, deciendo:* Eſto, Señor, ſe me offrece ahora en la materia auſente de mis libros, valiendome ſolamente de algunas memorias generales. Solo el mandato de V. Excelencia pudiera obligarme aparecer que trato de moſtrar la juſ-

10. Sus

10. Sus libros, y eſte papel mueſtran la verdad.

11. Menos podré yo ſalir dellos, pues no ſoy Caſtellano.

12. Muchos, y todos Caſtellanos.

13. Claro es que no le parecerá bien, pues diſcubre las traças Caſtellanas; pero toda Europa venera ſu talento y erudicion.

14. Mas burlas, y riſa hallará en el papel preſente; pero con occaſion baſtante; y vea ſi es culpa el ſer riſibile; o el ſer ridiculo.

15. Y tan auſente dellos, y de todas las ſciencias, que eſtoy ahora en preſencia de los libros de ſu reverenda Paternidad.

16. Ni yo lo digo; mire bien que no digo ſino, *Suelen* ſtification de coſa tan notoria; y quando neceſsitara della, ſuelen en los pleitos de los Reyes ſervir de papel los campos; de tinta la ſangre; y de plumas las eſpadas; [14] *y engañaſe; porque en los derechos, de que eſtá tan auſente;* [15] *No ſe halla que pleitos de Reyes ſe ayan de reſolver, y decidir con armas.* [16] *Tiranos ſon los que fundan ſu derecho en violencia.* [17] *Rebeldes los que fundan ſu juſticia en eſpadas; y por el conſeguiente, pues, (como nos lo confieſſa Souſa)* [18] *Eſtas calidades*

len y esto nadie lo negará.

17. Luego tirano fue *Philippe* 2. que no quiso estar a juisio; como nos cuenta el Autor *in Philip. lib.* 5. *in proœm. §.* 2. *& disp.* 3. *q.* 2. *art* 4. *&* 5. antes entró luego con violencia de armas; como cuenta el mismo *d. disp* 3 *q.* 1. *art.* 1. *n.* 9.

18. Que culpa tiene Sousa si quien le lee no entiende la Lengua Castellana?

19. Si su Rey determina fundar sus armas en derecho, y no tiene mas que el que demonstró su *Philippe*, será buen consejo dexarlas.

20. Lo que tiene ya lo há conseguido.

21. Nuestros aguelos la han avisado desto há muchos anõs.

lidades le convienen a la alteracion de Portugal, será fuerça decir, que es rebelion tiranica. El Rey nuestro Señor no funda en armas su derecho; sino antes en derecho sus armas; demonstróle con evidencia mi Filippe [19]. *Y conseguirale Castilla* [20], *ya mas avisada de que Portugal es Portugal* [21].

Concluye

Concluyeſe por las miſmas palabras del Autor convencido que el ſereniſſimo Rey Don *Juan* 4. eſtá legitimamente en poſſeſſion de los Reynos de Portugal.

39 *IVdex competens in hac difficultate quis? equidem ex jure nulli, atque ideo debuiſſet hæc quæſtio definiri per arbitros, ſi ſuſpicione liberi reperirentur, ſanè fuerat arbitrorum electio difficilis, & ab ijs neutiquam probanda qui ſine arbitris jus ſuum valuiſſent obtinere, quid ergo faciendum in re ambiguâ, tantique momenti? deficientibus judicibus qui Petro dent latâ ſententiâ quod ſuum eſt, poteſt talis Petrus conſulere doctores juris, exponere cauſas ſincerè, ſine colore, aut fuco, & eorum expectare ſententiam; condemnatus ſubſcribat, quòd ſi ſententia intento faveat, & doctores decreverint illas fortunas pertinere ad ipſiſſimum, ſanè vigore iſtius ſententiæ non tenebuntur antagoniſtæ reſtituere, poterunt enim alios ſimiliter clariſ-*

 ſimos

1. *In Philip. lib. 3. disp. 3. q. 2. art. 5.*

2. *d. lib. 5. in Præm. § 4. n. 10.*

simos doctores consulere, ipsi autem licebit vel clanculô, si fieri posset, vel publicè, ni maiora inconvenientia emanent, suas sedulus fortunas usurpatas, aut usurpandas tirannicè, legitimè recuperare. 1. *Pro serenißima Infante Catharina scripserunt quamplurimi.* 2. *Ergo, &c.*

En Castellano viene a hacer este argumento. *Para determinar esta materia dudosa, y de tanta importancia no avia jueses por derecho; ni devia consentir en arbitros quien pudiesse alcancar lo suyo sin ellos. Lo que se devia hacer era, cada uno consultar dotores juristas; y si respondiessen contra el quietarse; mas si dixessen que tenia justicia (sin embargo que otros uviessem votado por la parte contraria) le era licito recuperar por qualquiera camino lo que le estava usurpado.*

Consultô la Sen. D. Catalina, muchos dotores juristas que escrivieron en su favor.

Luego pudo ella, y su nieto (que es lo mismo) recuperar por qualquiera camino, lo q e, segun el voto dellos, le estava usurpado. es consequencia legitima, que *Caramuel* propuso quando el Rey Catholico tenia la possession de Portugal; no la deve negar oy, pues el derecho no se muda con las personas.

Que

Que el Sereniſsimo Rey Don *Juan* no ſolamente lo es legitimo de los Reynos, y Senorios de Portugal, mas tambien tiene derecho para conquiſtar los de Caſtilla.

40 EL poſſeedor deve ſer condenado en los frutos deſde el tiempo que eſtuvo en mala fee, *L. certum C. rei vendicat. L. bonæ fidei §. in contrarium ff. acquir. rer. dom. §. 2. Inſt. de offic. judic.* en nueſtro caſo lo confieſſa el Autor convencido. *en la reſpueſta lib. 4. c. 2. n 9.* ibi. *Si el prudente Philippe uviera uſurpado, y tiraniſado el Reyno, fuera fuerça que reſtituyeſe la corona uſurpada; las rentas cobradas ſin juſticia, y los danos de que ſus armas fueron cauſa.* Que *Philippe 2.* entraſe, y poſſeieſſe el y ſus ſucceſſores con mala fee uſurpando el Reyno, eſtá probado *en eſta Pes. n. 36.* No tratando de las rentas que ſe han gaſtado en las deſpeſas ordinarias del Reyno, llevó para Caſtilla mucho dinero

de tributos, y otras cosas; ricas pieças de la casa Real; gran numero de navios; grande quantidad de artilleria, infinitos soldados, por cuya falta se perdieron en nuestras conquistas las plaças que es notorio; y para satisfacion desto no basta el Reyno de Castilla, y lo mas que posseen los Castellanos en Hespana, segun el miserable estado a que está reducido, y con las expensas que obliga a hacer con guerra injusta, se augmentará mas la deuda.

No hablo ahora en otras acciones mas antiguas.

Convictus est.

A 6

DEFENCE

OF A

TREATISE

AGAINST SVPERSTI-
TIOVS *IESV-WORSHIP*,

Falsely called Scandalous, against the truely Scandalous Answer of the Parson of *Westminston* in *Sussex*.

Wherein also the whole Structure of his ANTITEIXIΣMA, so farre as it concernes the point in controversie is overthrowne, the truth more fully cleared, and the *iniquitie of that Superstition more throughly detected.*

By M. G. the Author of the former Treatise, published *Anno Dom.* 1642.

1 TIM. 6. 3.

If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godlinesse, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions, and strifes of words, whereof commeth envy, strife, railings, evill surmisings.

Printed at *London* for *Daniel Frere*, and are to be sold at his Shop, at the signe of the red Bull in *Little-Britaine*, 1643.

Aug: 7 *L*

TO THE

HONOVRABLE THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS And Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, Aſſembled in Parliament.

MOſt Noble Senators, having had a neceſſary occaſion to publiſh a Treatiſe againſt *Superſtitious Ieſu-Worſhip*, I dedicated the ſame to a worthy Member of your Houſe. Now finding it encountred in two volumes by Maſter *Barton*, who after dedication of his firſt Booke to the Kings Majeſtie, ſeemes next to dedicate the ſame to you, I have therefore taken boldneſſe to dedicate this my Reply to you alſo, (being indeed an encounter with both his Bookes) which otherwiſe I ſhould not have done nor preſumed to ſoare ſo high. This man is very confident in his cauſe, hee tels you hee hath hit the Marke, at which hee aymed, but I am confident it will appeare for all his boaſting, that he hath tooke his levell with a falſe deceitfull eye. Hee firſt flatters you and tels you, that your Honour advanceth truth, and nothing more, and preſently after complaines, that the cloſe followers of truth and peace are purſued, (hee

meanes himselfe, and his faction) and so the two sacred Sisters are forced by humorists. Upon whom this will reflect, I leave to your wisedomes to consider. Hee is not ignorant that you have broken the necke of this superstition, and favour not the followers of it. Against me he complaines to the Kings Majestie that I have crucified Christ in his name, and have shamefully handled the Church: heavy charges if I cannot avoid them; For the first, I appeale to what I have written; for the second, I am not guilty, unlesse affirming it to be unlawfull to give a Church authority over Gods word, doe make me to be so. For this opinion I know it to be one of the maine props, and pillars of Antichrist, and it lives and dies with him, and blessed bee God both are hastning to their end, but if I should hold my peace at this time I should betray truth, which I abhorre to do. There be many Malignant Spirits fit for a Malignant opinion that doe yet plead for it. And some I know doe greatly cry up this Mans booke; I have laboured to strippe this superstition starke naked, that the ugly deformitie of it may appeare, and what I have done herein I humbly submit my selfe to your Honours grave censure, and humbly crave of you pardon for my boldnesse. The Lord watch over you for good, be a wall of fire round about you, and the glory in the midst of you, keepe you safe under his wings from the desperate plots of wicked and unreasonable men, (as, his Name be eternally praised, hitherto he hath done) till *Babylon* be laid in the dust, and the King of glory appeare on *Mount Sion* in perfect beautie; Thus prayeth

The unworthiest of
your Servants,

MASCAL GYLES.

TO THE READER.

CHriſtian Reader, I received in January laſt this Anſwer to my Treatiſe, and I preſently addreſſed my ſelfe to a Reply, which I finiſhed (notwithſtanding other buſineſſe) in the ſpace of a moneth, as ſome of Mr. Bartons acquaintance can teſtifie; and preſently tooke care for the Printing, but being certified that his Booke was little regarded but kept Shop at London diligently, and ſeldome went abroad, I was the more careleſſe of ſetting it forth. But perceiving that Mr. Bartons admirers tooke advantage by my neglect, boaſting that I was not able to make any anſwer; to the end that truth may not be foyled, and errour wax proud, I have here preſented it to thy view.

It is the manner of Erroneous Teachers, what they cannot doe by Reaſon, to endeavour by railing to trample truth under their feete. Thus doth this Anſwerer, then whom a more ſcoffing Iſmaelite, or a more raying Rabſhakeh, I deeme never came in Print; If to call me Arian, Socinian, Triformian, Anabaptiſt, and I know not what beſides, will carry the cauſe at his ſide, he will ſurely winne the victory. This is one of his fetches to endeavour by barbarous ſlighting of my Perſon to diſcredit my booke. Another of his policies is to encounter mee with a great volume, and a great ſhew of learning. It is poſſible he may thus prevaile with ignorants, that underſtand him not, and with ſuch as are carried with prejudice, but I am confident that he will never pleaſe any that are truely learned and pious; one Pearle with them, though it goe in a narrow roome, will bee more precious than a Cartload of ſtraw or ſtubble. I queſtion not his learning; learning indeed is exceeding commendable if holy men have the uſe of it, other-

wise nothing more pestiferous. *The most pestilent errours have beene brou ght by the abuse of learning.* Hee is a wise man indeed that useth knowledge aright, *Prov.* 14.1. *As for his* opinion, *which hee maketh a* *necessary point *of* Faith *and* Salvation, *and denounceth* *Anathema *on those that will not practise it, as he can doe no lesse upon his* grounds; *the onely learning to prove it is to bee had from the* Scriptures *which are not for him, but against him, and which he hath miserably perverted for his owne ends, as I shall demonstrate. If ever man did set himselfe to oppose* truth, *which* clearely *shines in his* face, *he hath done it: never any in this point hath so farre exceeded in absurditie as he hath done, in so much, that in* two Sections he hath overthrowne his whole* two books, *and utterly broken the necke of his cause, never any more to be defended, as I shall prove. In his Preface hee discovers a great deale of* malignitie, *for he justifieth the* opinion *of those that ground it upon the* Text *by his owne* Reasons, *and yet make it a thing indifferent onely warranted, but not commanded by the* Text, *but yet commanded by the* Canon, *which they will lay downe if the* Canon *be overthrowne; my confutation of this monstrous errour he hath not answered but by a bold impudent denial. I would faine know of him how a necessary point of* Faith *and* Salvation, *which will be* damnation *to them that will not practise it, as he saith, (and all must say so too that ground it upon the Text) can bee* indifferent, *and ever to bee laid downe by the fall of a* Canon: *If* Mr. Barton *had beene ingenuous, he would have equally contested with them as with me, being as great antagonists to him, as to me, but see how suddenly he contradicts himselfe; for though he plead for those that hold it principally by* humane constitution, *yet presently after he makes it an errour to make the* Text *inferiour to the* Canon: *an irreconciliable contradiction. As touching the order of the* House of Commons *against this ceremony,* Mr. Barton *denies it to be so, for feare belike lest he should be seene to involve them in his* anathema. *As for his reverend and orthodox Divine, whom he here basely flatters, and yet * damnes him, and his opinion to hell in his* booke, *because he stirres not, I will not publikely note, yet there is nothing that I have set downe, but I can prove it from his* owne hand, *and from* sufficient able witnesses; *and I am so farre to have any cause of recanting what I have written of him, that he hath more cause of* publike recantation *for seducing the people into* superstition, *who if he had beene lesse superstitious would have beene now more famous,*

and

+ Answer to a Treatise, p. 43.
* Arm. p. 59. and 65.
* Part 1. Sect. 4. and 8.
* Arm. p. 52. 59. &c.

and if he compare those, from whom he hath lost, with those that now cry him up, it will adde nothing to his comfort. As for his parishioner, whom he would not admit to the conference, he is of my opinion in the point, and one whom he laid to my charge, that I had seduced, therefore if he had beene so strong and I so weake, it had beene for his purpose to have admitted him, for it might have beene judged a meanes to have revoked him from my opinion, and inclined him to his. As for Mr. Bartons opinion, which he maintaines in his booke, but waves in his preface, I did in the sinceritie of my heart preferre before the other, for I could never perceive, (nor I thinke Mr. Barton himselfe, when hee is serious) how any can maintaine this opinion from the Text, upon his reasons, and yet ever judge it lawfull to lay it downe; therefore I did not intend to rubbe his backe, I suppose if it lacke rubbing, himselfe hath made a devise to allay the itch of it. That I had good cause to publish my booke, I have shewed sufficiently. That I received a senselesse railing answer to my foure arguments from him, I have to shew from his owne hand; for he did but onely take my propositions, contradicting my assumptions, and gave me not one word of reason, notwithstanding accusing me of blasphemy, contradictions, inconsequences, and more then Semi-Arrian Socinianisme. If this bee not unreasonable railing I referre my selfe to any to judge: As for his answer, meere the one halfe is impertinent stuffe, and meere barbarous scurrilitie, which I have passed by, and have resolved not to returne reviling for reviling. But if my spirit be moved in behalfe of those three worthies, whose innocent sufferings he scoffes at Page 2. I trust the Reader will not blame me. There be sundry things in my booke which are most materiall, that he hath not so much as touched with one of his fingers; for my part I have laboured in this my Reply for brevitie to the utmost of my power, yet I know not any thing fit to be answered that I have passed by. Those his conceited strong holds in his Apx. and some other things urged, though when first mentioned, they are not answered in every place, yet they are answered in other places more convenient as thou shalt finde. Those tales which he layes to my charge that I should speake, are all false, where I answer nothing. If there bee any, that are so wedded to the learned opinion of Master Barton, that they affect it and owne it, and will not be perswaded to the contrary, for my part I leave them to all the comfort that this opinion will afford them; but withall, I wish them to put it in practise, for I know some that hugge his booke that doe

doe not observe his rule, *these shew themselves horrible* dissemblers *before* God *and* Man: *I must tell them, if they doe not practise it, woe be to them. Never any served an harder master then* Master Barton, *if he be not obeyed, his correction is no lesse then eternall damnation. Thus, Christian Reader I leave thee to the perusall of this Reply.*

Thine in the Lord Jesus,

MASCALL GYLES.

Christian Reader, the Title following in the ensuing Page was set downe without my direction: My Title is this.

A Defense of a Treatise against Superstitious Jesu-Worship.

PART. I.

A Reply to a Counter-ſcarfe, Written by Maſter *Barton*; concerning bowing at the Name of IESVS, *Anno* 1642.

MAſter *Barton* in the latter part of his Ἀντιπύργια reades a Lecture of humilitie, but in his *Epiſtle Dedicatory*, before his anſwer, he beginneth with a proud brag, wherein he ſhewes how well hee puts in practiſe his owne doctrine. He ſaith he anſwered my Treatiſe in 10. dayes of *Auguſt* laſt: Now this is to let the world underſtand, that many of my bookes were in the Country on the 19. of *July*, 1642. and I can prove that he had one of them amongſt the firſt, and it cannot be thought that he would be idle altogether til the buſie time of *Auguſt*; but I wonder that he would take ſo much time about it, ſeeing hee boaſted after he had ſent me that ſcurrilous anſwer to my *foure Arguments* in *Aprill* before, that he had overthrowne my whole Treatiſe in halfe an houre: a ſtrange dull fit came upon him, as it ſeemes to take but halfe an houre then, but now ten dayes. Now to ſhew the impudency of this bragge, I will declare the truth of all: Almoſt two yeares agone hee being at my houſe, I read into him my whole opening of the Text. In the *Spring*, 1642. meeting him by occaſion in the preſence of a *Gentleman*, and others, he ſeemed to be very faire with me, and meekely re-

queſted me to ſend him ſome of my Arguments, affirming that if he ſaw weight in them that hee would yeeld, promiſing that when he had peruſed them he would returne them againe; and ſend me the grounds of his *opinion*. I therefore ſent him thoſe foure arguments above ſpecified, at large with their prooſes, which hee hitherto keepeth by him, and would not returne them, neither would hee ſend his grounds according to promiſe: Is this equity? nay is it honeſty? but it is ſuch honeſty as well becommeth Maſter *Barton*.

Beſides, almoſt two yeares agoe I ſent him another Argument. Firſt and laſt in conference, and otherwiſe, I know not one Argument but he hath been acquainted with: and he knew as long agoe as *September* 1641. that I would ſet out my booke; and yet this man hath the face to ſay that hee anſwered my whole booke in ten dayes. To adde to this, in one paſſage of his booke he layes to my charge that my booke is a *monſter* of three yeares hatching; great oddes, his brood but ten dayes in hatching, mine three yeares; But this is the truth, finding this groſſe ſuperſtition to take ſo much in the Countie by thoſe *ſuperſtitious teachers*, and ſome ignorants in my owne pariſh to bee ſtaggard with it, I ſomething more then three yeares agoe delivered as much againſt it as amounted to the quantitie of an houre and a halfe at two ſeverall *Sermons*, and then left it, onely being ready to encounter with any of that opinion, as occaſion ſhould ſerve, and never thought to come in print, till I had received abuſes by theſe men, and ſo with as much convenient ſpeed as other buſineſſes would give mee leave, I wrote it out faire, making it ready for the preſſe; and ſo I ſent it up to a friend at *London*, where it lay almoſt halfe a yeare before it came into the *Preſſe*, till ſuch time as I was carefull to looke after it my ſelfe. If my booke had beene made ten yeares agone, what then? I may put it out when I pleaſe, it is raſhneſſe and madneſſe to affirme that becauſe my booke came out three yeares after I firſt ſtudied the point, that therefore I was ſo long in ſtudying it; by this rule Maſter *Bartons Antipædo* is a monſter as well as my booke, for I can prove that three yeares agone, and better, he beganne to preach for his opinion, and a ſpeciall friend of his told me before my book was in the preſſe, that he had a booke of this Queſtion ready for the Preſſe, which without

Page 50.

without doubt was this his Ἀντίχρημα. This I thought good to make knowne, leſt the reader ſhould be deceived in a paſſage of his in the Title of the ſaid booke, where he ſaith it was prepared 1642. for if by *preparing* he meane *inventing* or *ſtudying*, hee wrongs his *reader* and his owne conſcience, ſeeing hee preached for his opinion three yeares before. Thus much in anſwer to his proud bragge. This Sophiſter (for ſo I cannot chuſe but call him; for all his anſwers are but meer ſophiſtrie) is offended at the title of my booke, becauſe I call bowing at the name Jeſus ſuperſtition. One reaſon is, becauſe, ſaith hee, Jeſus is the Genitive caſe, and cannot be nominall in any caſe; which exception ſhall be anſwered hereafter. And ſecondly, becauſe the tearme of ſuperſtition is an Enthuſiaſme (as he calleth it) of Maſter *Prynne* and Maſter *Burton*, whom in ſcorne he calls *Confeſſor Prynne* and *Father Burton*, fathered on him and his fellowes by me, whom he calls their *Pupill*. But it was called *ſuperſtition* by ſundry learned, long before they or my ſelfe wrote in the *Queſtion*: therefore it doth not appeare to be firſt brought up by thoſe worthy men, or if it were, I have no reaſon to recant for ſaying ſo too, unleſſe he can diſprove the truth of it: and whereas he upbraides them with their forfeitures, and asketh me whether I will undergoe the ſame; I anſwer, hee is a malicious impudent perſon to caſt the ſufferings of thoſe excellent men, with ſcorne into their teeth, in compariſon of whom for true ſolid learning, piety and ſincerity, he is not worthy of that honour that *Job* refuſed to give to the fathers of thoſe children that mocked him; but himſelfe alſo hath undergone a forfeiture. which if it had beene in as good a quarrell as theirs, it would have beene more for his comfort, but he ſpeakes out, he can be content to helpe mee to their forfeiture, if it lay in his power, becauſe he ſaith, that contrary to my *knowledge* (his owne ſaying, he ſhould have ſaid) I accuſe him of *ſyllabicall worſhip*, having often (but it was never but once as I remember) in the preſence of *Divines* and *Gentlemen* affirmed the contrary: In anſwer to which, I doubt not but this *malecontent* will doe what he can to the uttermoſt of his power, to the extremitie of forfeiture, his malice is ſo *implacable* not only againſt me, but againſt all ſuch as hate his courſes; but he cannot tell what forfeiture he himſelfe may undergoe for his miſdemeanours if once a good Job 6. 30. 1. 2.

peace be ſetled, and I am confident that they that are throughly acquainted with Maſter *Barton*, will not accuſe me for the crime of incredulitie in not beleeving him on his bare word; but whether I have wrongfully charged him with ſyllabicall worſhip, the following treatiſe will declare.

SECTION I.

Name above every Name what it is not. Whoſe diſeaſe I pray tended to παράνοια that was among the Cavaliers, in habite and poſture of war as a Cavalier?

WHerein I demonſtrate, firſt, what *Name above every Name* cannot be; and ſecondly what it is: and firſt I ſay it is not to be underſtood of a bare proper name which makes Mr. *Barton* very ſnuffe, and he tels me that my diſeaſe is *Melancholia*, & tends to παράνοια, and layes to my charge *ignorantia Elenchi*, in ſaying that they doe not deveſt the name above every name to *bare letters*, and *ſyllables*, and that they doe not take the *name* without the *ſenſe*: but what if himſelfe doe utterly miſtake the queſtion? for by a bare name I intend not any name timply debarred of ſenſe, but firſt a proper name conſidered *Seorſim* and *apart* by it ſelfe. And ſecondly ſuch a name that is not anſwerable in a true relative ſenſe to names ſubjected to it. My firſt reaſon, Sir, you needed not to have been offended with, for I except it as you ſee from a reaſon *infallible*, but take it as *probable*, and as an *introduction* to thoſe reaſons that are more ſure. My ſecond and third Reaſons taken from the analogie of the *Scriptures* you take to be nothing, and include them in the former, but you are miſtaken, and where can you finde theſe phraſes, *A great Name*, or *Name above another*, taken from a proper name in this ſenſe in any part of *Scripture*? My fourth reaſon you frivolouſly ſlight, you deny that if *the Name above every Name* be a proper Name, the *ſubjected Names* muſt be proper Names alſo; this is to deny evident plaine reaſon, for is there not a manifeſt *relation* betweene a *proper Name*, and *proper Names*? But you ſay, if I meane a Name in the *ſenſe* of it, the Name *Jeſus* is above every Name whatſoever, yea above the *Name of God*, which is a feareſull aſſertion, for if you meane the *Name of God* conſidered by it ſelfe as a name, then becauſe it is plaine by the Text that every Name below this higheſt Name muſt bow knees to that Name, then it will follow, that beſides the Names of the Creatures the

Name

Name of God must bow to the *Name Jesus*: this will bee laid to your charge, avoyd it if you can. But if you will not have the Name Jesus referred to names, then it must bee referred to the powers of things subjected, then it will follow, that excepting not *God*, *God* himselfe must bow to the *Name Jesus*: impute not blasphemy to mee, It is direct blasphemie in you by your own doctrine, and becauſe you ſee it lies upon you, you rage and raile. Now then ſeeing Name above every Name cannot be underſtood of a bare proper Name in the ſenſe above ſpoken, therefore it followes that it cannot be underſtood of the Name Jeſus, becauſe the name in the Text is a name of power and authoritie, as that parallel place proves it, *Matth.* 28. 18. πᾶσα ἐξουσία, *all power is given me*. So Maſter *Calvin* on that place, " *Quo etiam* " *pertinet illud Pauli, to which pertaines that of Paul, hee emptied* " *himſelfe, wherefore God exalted him, and gave him a name, which is* " *above every name*. Again, the ſcope of the name proves it, for Subjection muſt be given in this name ſignified by bowing the knee, Authority & ſubjection are relatives, there is no *Subjection* due where there is no *Power* or *Authority*. Now the Name *Jeſus* is a name of *Salvation*, and not a name properly denoting *Command* and *Authority*.

Secondly, though it ſhould be granted that the *Name Jeſus* is a name of *Authority*, yet it is not a name of the *higheſt Authority*, Doctor *Page* your own witneſſe ſhall be Judge, whom you judge unrepreveable in his judgement, who in his anſwer to Maſter *Prynnes* Reply to *Widdowes*; Maſter *Pryme* having brought many places to prove that *the name Chriſt denominates Chriſts Sacraments, his Church, his Apoſtles, his Miniſters, his Saints, his Kingdome; and therefore a Name eſpecially venerable amongſt Chriſtians*, doth acknowledge that the name *Chriſt* may be of greater *Authoritie* and *dignitie* then the Name *Jeſus*, though not of greater *favour* and *mercy*. Now let Doctor *Page* with all his learning, and Maſter *Burton* with all his Sophiſtrie reconcile this if they can, how the Name Jeſus can be above every name, yet it be poſſible that any other name may be of greater *dignitie* and *authority* than it, ſeeing Name in the Text doth expreſly denote *dignitie* and *authoritie*. *Pag.* 197.

Thirdly, thought it ſhould be granted that the Name Jeſus is of *higheſt authority* in regard of the *Church* only, yet in this reſpect neither can it be the name above every name in the Text, for

this name is of highest authority in regard of the whole creation, heaven and earth, and therefore without controversie in respect of Angels, Devils, and all men whatsoever, according to the forecited place, *Matth.*28.18. *All power is given me in heaven and earth.* Christ in this name commands the whole heaven and earth. Now the Name Jesus cannot command the *Angels*, because to them he is not Jesus by redemption, as the name signifies; much lesse can it command the *Devills*; and it cannot command the *whole earth*, for many *nations* have no knowledge of his written Law, much lesse the *Gospell*; therefore neither doth he command them as *Jesus*, neither can any of these submit and bow to him as *Jesus*. Therefore here the *Name Jesus* standeth as a bare name to Angels, devills, reprobates, and many nations of the earth. And let not Master *Barton* be angry if I affirme that he and his fellowes adore the *bare Name Jesus*. For first understanding the Text of the Name Jesus they appoint the bowing to the *Name* onely, and not to the *person*, as I have proved, and they cannot intend it to the person except they adde to the Text. Secondly, when the person of our Saviour is as fully denominated under his other titles, as Jesus, they move not, but onely at the name Jesus. Thirdly, when they stand or sit to heare the *Word*, a gesture allowable by the Word, as soone as the *Name Jesus* is mentioned they immediatly bow, and when oftentimes the great mercy of God in saving us is largely and copiously laid open in a Sermon, or when in reading of a Chapter many excellent sentences are related, wherein the *sense* of our *salvation* is more clearely notified to our understanding then by the *Name Jesus*, yet there is no stirre, no adoration, but onely at the Name Jesus, no not at the title *Saviour*, which is the very *sense* of the name Jesus, and better understood of all. Fourthly, it is ordinary with these men, when they be upon their knees at the prayers to *God* and *Christ*, then to make a *speciall incurvation* of the body at the sound of Jesus, a plaine argument that these men are guilty of *Syllabicall worship*, and worship the *bare name* more then *God* or *Christ himselfe*. That I alone doe not so charge them, Master * *Calvin* and Master * *Babington* do both of them lay *syllable worship* to their charge. Therefore I returne Master *Bartons* scoffes upon himselfe, and I would faine see, how not poore silly *flies*, but such *mighty Elephants*, as this

Sect. 5.

* On Phil 2.9.
* Exposition of the Creede.

this *Sophiſter* is, can eſcape out of theſe nets: and therefore his *Crambe* ſo often *Cocta* caſt upon me is more then ridiculous, viz. *Name above every name as a bare name cannot be underſtood of the Name Jeſus, as a bare name*, and this ſhall ſerve to anſwer it every where when it is brought. To the ſecond part, *viz.* If it ſhould be underſtood of a proper name, yet may it not bee underſtood of the Name Jeſus; my firſt reaſon is, becauſe the word *Jeſus* doth no where denote the name Jeſus, but onely *Matth.* 1. 21. and *Luke* 2.21. where it muſt needs ſo ſignifie; but hee will have my meaning to be this, that the word Jeſus doth not ſignifie the word Jeſus, which is a *Crotchet* of his owne deviſing: I ſay the word Jeſus doth not ſignifie the name, not the word, your inſtance of יהוה to ſignifie *Jehovah* in the old Teſtament is nothing to the purpoſe; for I ſpeake here of Jeſus; neither is the *Parallel* brought right, for you ſhould have produced where the word *Jehovah* is taken for the *Name Jehovah*, and if you did, it is beſides the Queſtion, which is onely there concerning the *Name Jeſus*. But you can prove, you ſay, that name is often uſed for *Jeſus*, and inſtance in one place, which if true, it is not for your turne, for you muſt prove that Jeſus is taken for the Name Jeſus, but that place of *Acts* 5.41. is not for you; doth the Apoſtle ſpeake there *barely* of the *name* or *appellation Jeſus*? you thought belike you ſhould never be anſwered; theſe be the words, *they rejoyced that they were counted worthy to ſuffer rebuke for his name*: what is *name* taken for the *name Jeſus* here properly? did the Appellation Jeſus offend the *Apoſtles* enemies? did not they call him *Jeſus* as well as the *Apoſtles*. This is that offended them, for preaching that *Jeſus*: not the *name* but *perſon* was the *Chriſt*; no quarrell at all about the *name Jeſus*: Would it be thought that one that profeſſeth himſelfe ſuch a Scholler as Maſter *Barton* is ſhould run into ſuch an abſurditie? To my ſecond reaſon, *viz.* that τὸ ὄνομα Ιησοῦ is never taken for the name Jeſus, you object: that I take the *word* without the *ſenſe*; but Sir you muſt not take the *ſenſe* without the *name*: the queſtion is about the *name Jeſus* as a *name*, and though you take the *ſenſe* with it, yet you cannot bring any Scripture for this interpretation: but becauſe you cannot anſwer this reaſon, therefore you put it off with a ſcoffe. In the next place you affirme that in this phraſe ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ιησοῦ, Ιησοῦ is the *genitive caſe*, and not the

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dative, and so you will have it read not in or at the name Jesus; but name of Jesus: therefore it pleaseth you *Sect.* 5. *Page* 36. in your learned scurrilous language to call me a Jugler, a Thiefe, a beguiler of the people, and that I have put the theft impudently on the *Church*, for turning the Genitive case into the case of the Noune; but what Sir, if I prove you to be the Jugler, and the thiefe? for if you will have it read in or at the name of Jesus, then I agree with you; you know I am content to understand it so too; but here now will be a great doubt, what is meant by the *Name* of *Jesus*. If by the *word Jesus* you doe understand the *person*, Name is generall, and many senses may be made, then my sense of the *Name of power and glory* will come in *fairely*, then any other name of *Christ* may come in to bee the name as well as *Jesus*, as *Christ*, *Emmanuel*, *Mediatour*, which are all names of Jesus, as well as Jesus: yea in better congruity of speech, these may be called names of Jesus, then the name Jesus. But if by the *word Jesus* you meane the *name Jesus*, and yet will not have it be in *apposition* with *Nomen*, then the sense will bee thus, *at the name of the name Jesus*, which will be very senseless; therefore by these words, *in the name of Jesus* you must read *name Jesus*, or else no body understands you: yea your owne friends read it so, as * *Sutton*; yea you quote * *Origen* to call it so, yea * you your selfe doe call it so: let the world judge now, who is the deceiver or Jugler, you or I.

* I earne to live, Chap. 14. Pag. 217.
* *Ayn.* pag. 36.
* *Ayn.* pag. 22.

To my third reason that Jesus was a communicable name, therefore not the name above every name, your answer is extreamely scurrilous. First you say, I am neare to Atheisme for questioning such learned men as Bishop *Andrewes* and Doctor *Page*, but how you can make it good unlesse you put them in the place of God I know not. I hope Sir, truth is not confined to a *Bishops Rotchet* nor a *Doctors Chaire*, but you by your owne reason are as neare Atheisme as my selfe for questioning *Bellarmine* with whom you cannot compare for *learning*. This I say, that whereas your two friends affirme that sundry men were called *Christs*, therefore Christ is a communicable name, I answered: These were no more called *Christs* then others were called *Saviours*, *Neh.* 9. 27. And though you reply, that none of these were called *Saviours* as *Jesus* was a *Saviour*; so I say that none of these were called *Christs* as *Jesus* was *Christ*. So here I have

Antit. p. 3.

have taken off your *two friends*, and *your ſelfe*, and in this wee areeven. But here I have the better of you. Some were called *Jeſus* either by *ſpeciall providence*, or *generall allowance*, as by an *ordinary Name* to be called by, but none might be called *Chriſt* in an ordinary Name to be called by, without *horrible blaſphemy*. And whereas you deny this, and ſeeme to affirme that ſome are called Chriſts without offence, by an ordinary Name to be called by, as you inſtance in *Chriſtopher* and *Chriſtian*, it is ridiculous; what, is *Chriſtopher Chriſt*? it is no more Chriſt, then *Mary* the mother of our Lord is the Lord himſelfe: and if you think you are called *Chriſt* when called *Chriſtian*, I tell you plainely you are a very *Antichriſt*. My quotation of *Urſin* is *ad idem*, for I cite him onely to this end, to ſhew that *Joſhuah* had his name given him by a ſpeciall providence; and if *Moſes* gave him the name, it doth the more confirme it.

To my fourth reaſon, *viz.* becauſe the *Name Jeſus* was given to *Chriſt* in the *beginning of his humiliation*; therefore it cannot be the *Name above every Name* in the Text, which was given him at his *exaltation*; you anſwer nothing, but referre mee to your Ἀντίῤῥησις, Pag. 13, 14, 15. and what doe I finde there? that two or three doe ſay that *Chriſts Name* was manifeſted after the *reſurrection*, but not any to apply it to the Name Jeſus. This Name needeth no manifeſtation, becauſe hee was all along ſo called; as God indeed his Name was manifeſted, but as man the Name was then given him; *Name* here is the higheſt glorification of the *humane nature* as generally the beſt expoſitors doe underſtand the Text.

But if you can produce any place to prove that χαρίζομαι doth ſignifie to manifeſt or declare, I will the ſooner incline to your opinion; and according to your owne reaſon, a literall-ſenſe, admitting no abſurditie, and expreſſing a cleare truth, is to be preferred before a myſticall. Now you ſcoffing at our *figurative interpretation* of ſome clauſes, though warranted by *Scripture*, doe make a *myſticall ſenſe* here no where warranted. Now that *give* is to be taken here *properly*, the *Analogie* of the *Text*, and the *order* of the words will evidence; for the Name given here is Gods free rewarding of Chriſt after his obedience & ſufferings as is plaine by the Text; which if it were onely by the *manifeſtation* of his former *Name*, it is not ſo *proper*, as by giving him

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that *glory* which he had not before; Secondly, the words are ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, there being no article before ὄνομα it is plaine it hath no relation to any proper Name then called by. Againe it being αὐτῷ not αὐτοῦ, hee gave a name to him, not his Name, it is evident it is a gift not before had. I doe not deny it to be understood of some Name or Names that Christ as God had before, as God *Jehovah*, Sonne of God, for so they may after a sort be called a gift, for these names being laid downe in his *humiliation*, *restoring* is a kinde of *giving*; much more as the *glory* of these *Names* are given to the *humane nature*. For whereas he was before called by these glorious names, as *God* onely, now he is so called as *God*, and *Man*. And therefore though *Zanchius* doe understand it of the name of God manifested, yet he affirmes it to be a reall gift, *viz.* as the humane nature is honoured thereby; but in no sense can it be understood of the declaration of the Name Jesus, which Name was never denied him: therefore saith *Zanchius*, *alii pro nomine Jesu, sed minus commode*; *others understand it*, *saith he*, *for the name Jesus*, *but lesse fitly*, because before the resurrection he was called Jesus by all. To have the name Jesus declared after the resurrection is not properly an advancement of Christ *. Therefore is it not the name above every Name. If you Mr. *Barton*, should present one of your *Bookes* to your *Godfather*, and he to *gratifie you*, should give to you your *Name Thomas*, or declare your name *Thomas*, which he gave you before, I thinke you would not thinke your selfe to receive much honour by such a gift or declaration. Certainly if the Name above every Name bee but the *declaration* of the name *Jesus*, he should have more given him at his *Circumcision* then at his *exaltation*: for a *gift* is more then the *declaration* of it. If any thing were now added to the name *Jesus*, then was not his name *perfect* at the first; and you may as well say that *Christ* had not a perfect *office*, or that he did not offer up a *perfect sacrifice*, as that the Name *Jesus* was not *perfect*. You say your selfe, as the *Names* of things are, so should their *vertues* be esteemed: I pray, Sir, wherein doth the *eminencie* of the Name *Jesus* appeare after the *resurrection*? in all your *treatise* I doe not see but you make it to consist in this, that it signifieth a *Saviour*, but so it signified before, and so it signified after he had wrought *salvation* for us by his *death*; to what purpose then was the sense

On Phil. 2. 9. 10.

* Your selfe say, that the declaration of a thing is not more worthy then the thing, *Part. 2. Sect. 4.*

Ayre pag. 15.

of

of the name given him, when the nature of the name, especially after the worke was finished, declares it of it selfe? if then the advancement of *Christs Name* after the *resurrection* bee no more then the *declaring* of the Name *Jesus*, God should but mocke his Sonne, and indeed give him no more *honour*, or not so much as he gave him before.

To my fifth reason, that Jesus cannot be the Name above every Name, because *Jesus was advanced after his resurrection to bee Lord and Christ, Act. 2. 36.* you have nothing to say to it, but accuse me of *Arianisme*, as if say you *Jesus* was not the same before, that he was declared to be after the resurrection, *Lord*, and *Christ*. I answer, though Jesus were so before, yet he was not honoured so before in respect of the *humane nature*, for so hee was *advanced* to that honour. If *Jesus* were the *highest Name*; how could Jesus come to be more highly advanced in becomming *Lord* and *Christ*? And here I must put you in mind of an horrible *absurdity* of your opinion; you affirme that the name *Christ* is the Name onely of the *humanity*, the Name *Iesus* the *essentiall Name* of *God*; then by this your *doctrine*, according to this Text, *Christ God* in the time of his *humiliation* should be exalted in being made man, when he was advanced after his resurrection. That which I noted as considerable, is still as considerable as it was: hee was most commonly called Jesus in the time of his humiliation, but after his *Resurrection*, and *Ascension*, hee was most commonly called *Christ*; and when called *Iesus*, more commonly with the addition of *Lord*, and *Christ*, then *Iesus* onely. I have run over the whole new *Testament*, and I finde to the utmost of my search, *Iesus* alone named before the ascension 490. times. *Part 2 Sect. 4.*

Christ alone but 40. times.
Lord Iesus but once.
Iesus Christ, six times.
Lord Iesus Christ not at all.

After the Ascension.

Christ alone is used 238.
Iesus alone but 45.
Lord Iesus 32.
Iesus Christ or *Christ Iesus* 125.
Lord Iesus Christ 95.
} times.

Well then hence I argue that it is impossible that the Name Jesus should be the proper Name of the Deitie, and Christ of he humanitie; for then should hee be most commonly called *God* in the time of his humiliation, when his *God-head* was veyled, when *Christ* called himselfe the *Sonne of man*, and most commonly called *Man* in the time of his exaltation, after that hee had mightily declared himselfe to be the sonne of God; which were utterly senseleſse to imagine.

But before I leave this, I will note a contradiction in Doctor *Page*, your infallible witnesse, who in his answer to Mr. *Prynnes Appendix* *, makes *Jesus* to be the name of the Deitie, Christ of the humanitie; yet in his answer to his *Reply* *, he affirmes, as I noted before, that *Christ* is a name of greater *dignitie* and authoritie then *Jesus*: hence it will follow that our Saviour is of greater dignitie and authoritie as man then as God; let this be reconciled if it can.

Page 55.

Page 197.

Your answer to my fixt reason is nothing but senseleſse scurrility. Whereas I say, God in advancing his Sonne above all excepted himself, and no where is Christs Name said to be advanced above divine Names, but created onely; I overthrow here no gracious dispensation that you can prove from the word, for though the high advancement of the Sonne be to the glory of every Person, yet hath he not a Name or glory above them. And if you can prove it otherwise by Scripture, why doe you speake of Scripture, and alledge none?

Seing *Name above every Name* cannot bee understood of the name *Jesus*, I understand it of the *supereminent glory* of *Christ*, upon these reasons. To let alone your scoffe at my *transition*, for you can doe nothing else, take the *sense* and the *Name* together if you will, I deny it not. First I say it is no way contrary to the *Analogie* of faith, so to understand it, for Name is commonly taken for glory in Scripture. To this, your exception is nothing; for from hence I gather that this exposition is agreeable to the Scripture.

Name above every Name, what it is.

Secondly, *Name of God* doth usually in Scripture denote the *power* and *glory* of *God* either *implicitly* of *expressly*: hence also I gather that my exposition is according to the *Scripture*; But you will have this make as much for you as me, but you cannot. For whether יהוה or יהוה be κατ' ἐξοχὴν the Lord, or no, is nothing to the purpose, our question is about a *Name*, not *Per-*

son

ſun. This I can tell you, Sir, you cannot finde *Name* prefixed before any of the titles of God, as *Name of God*, or *Lord*, or *Jeſus*, &c. to denote the name *God* or *Lord*; therefore are the Scriptures againſt your expoſition, though plaine for me.

To my third reaſon, you have more cauſe to bluſh for your *frivolous exception*, than I for affirming that it is more agreeable to *Scripture* to underſtand name for the *ſupereminent power and glory of Chriſt*, then otherwiſe; for you ſee I anſwer on by degrees in my reaſons. My firſt and ſecond, as *a great Name*, and *Name above another*; are two diſtinct phraſes, and doe every where ſignifie not a *proper Name*, but onely *glory*: but you will have this to be againſt me, for, ſay you, if a *great Name* doe ſignifie the *great glory* of the *perſon*, then it is not the *glory*, for *ſignum is not ſignatum*. I reply ſigne, and the thing ſignified are the ſame materially, and though when they ſtand in oppoſition they differ; yet otherwiſe the ſigne doth often denote the *thing ſignified*; and they are the ſame.

To my fourth reaſon, that it muſt be underſtood of *Power* and *Glory* here, and not of the *Name Jeſus*; for ſo it fits the words of the Text *agreeable* to other *Scriptures*, for name being here the *gift* which God gave him, other *correſpondent Scriptures* doe ſhew that *power* and *glory* was that *gift*, as *Matth.* 28. 18. 1 *Pet.* 1. 21. You anſwer here nothing at all to thoſe Scriptures; but onely cavill againſt my reaſon. If, ſay you, the gift be *power* and *glory*, the *Apoſtle* ſhould *idem per idem agere*. No Sir, I have proved Sect. 12. that theſe words, *God* gave him a name, are but an amplification of *Chriſt's advancement*, and the *Apoſtle* doth no more *idem per idem agere*, then he doth *Epheſ.* 1. 21. 1 *Pet.* 1. 21. where it is ſaid God raiſed Chriſt from the dead, and gave him glory, where the firſt clauſe expreſſeth one maine degree of his exaltation, the ſecond is an *amplification* of it. Next you thinke to encounter mee with a *Dilemma*. If Name bee power and glory, then ſay you, it muſt be *created* or *increated*. Created it cannot be ſay you, and be the name above every name; if increate, then you ſay it is *Ariamiſme* to affirme that it was then given him; your *Dilemma* is nothing. It is firſt *created power and glory*, and ſo it is above all *created glories*, though not *increated*. Secondly, it is *created*, though not given to the eſſence of God, but to the humane nature to enjoy, and ſo alſo it is onely above all *created glories*. Your argument in the concluſion

cluſion, is but a meere begging of the queſtion without prooſe, and there is an equivocation in the minor, you muſt tell mee what name you meane by the Name of *Jeſus*, ſeeing you will not have it read the *Name Jeſus*.

To my fifth reaſon, taken from the *ſcope* and *coherence of the Text*, viz. that the conjunction διὸ declares a correſpondence of *Chriſts exaltation* according to the diſtinct branches of his *humiliation*, which anſwers directly to *Chriſts glory and dignity*, which hee departed from, but nothing at all to the name *Jeſus*; there being nothing ſpoken in the Text of a bare title, but of the perſon of our Saviour. Firſt you queſtion me for obſerving διὸ and not διὰ τοῦτο; but ſo doth your owne Author *Zanchy* as well as I: it is but a frivolous catch. This διὸ καὶ doth demonſtrate ſay you, what I care not to ſee, that hee whoſe *perſon* was ſo aviled, and his *name*, you meane the *Name Jeſus*, put out by an accurſed death, was *ſuperexalted* in both. Sir, I care to ſee any thing that is in the *Text*, but not the fantaſies of your braine. Next you challenge me for ſaying that *Chriſt departed* from his *glory*: but what do I ſay more then the Apoſtle, He emptied himſelfe; or more then *Zanchy*, *Nomen Dei depoſuit, cum depoſuit gloriam*, laying down being a kind of leaving? wherein I doe not meane as this *malecontent* ſeemes to challenge me, as if Chriſt ever ceaſed to be God; but only that he was not ſo honoured by the world in regard of the veile of his *humanitie*: And this ſhall ſerve to anſwer this exception, where ever it is mentioned: next when you cannot faſten any reaſon for your opinion upon the *Text*, nor anſwer my reaſon drawne thence, you goe about to fumble up a reaſon by asking a queſtion, by which you ſay you will condemne me out of my owne mouth, which is this; A *perſon* is humbled; and who is that *perſon*? I muſt anſwer the *Sonne of God*: and what is his *Name*? I muſt anſwer ſay you, *Phil.*2.9.10. his name is *Jeſus*: (but ſoft Sir, there is nothing ſpoken there of a bare name, but perſon) then *Jeſus* ſay you was the name ſo humbled, and conſequently the name ſo advanced. Is not this fine learned ſtuffe? If the Name Jeſus ſuffered as the perſon ſuffered, then it will follow that the name Jeſus died, roſe againe, and now ſits at the right hand of God; and then where will you have it to bow to? if it muſt needs be that the *Name* fares as the *perſon* fares, becauſe it is ſo and ſo with the perſon, therefore

On Phil. 2. 9.

De natura Dei l. 1. *c* 17.

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it must be so, and so with the name. Then I wonder that *Thomas Barton* being afraid that himselfe should be punished for his *demerits*, that he was not afraid left his *Name Thomas* should be punished, and why then did he bring his *Name Thomas* to open light when *himselfe* was afraid to appeare? It is no mervaile that those that set themselves to resist the truth should runne into such *ridiculous nonsense*. This argument of yours drawne from the suffering of the Name Jesus is the best you have; yet is it a senselesse one, not so much as intimated in the *Text*, or any other *Scripture*, nor agreeable to reason. Let the *reader* judge, whether your comparison in the beginning of the Sieve holding the course, and letting goe the fine, which you impute to my *Section*, doe not befall your answer to it. But as you have answered this Section, so have you done all the rest.

SECT. II.

WHereas I doe not so well *approve* of the opinion of those *Expositors* that refer the *subjected Names* to *rationall creatures* only, but rather refer them to all things and creatures whatsoever; shewing proofe for my opinion, yet referring my selfe to better information if I can have it; you take advantage at this, and taxe me that I oppose them with all my might by whom I pretend to be guided: but I hope Sir I may shew *reason* for my *opinion*, and make it as strong as I can; and I must tell you, my opinion is as it was: you have answered nothing to purpose to any of the *Scriptures* I alleadged. The maine proofe of my reason, that *Christs Kingdome* in this Text is not onely of *Mediatorship*, but *naturall*, you deny, and understand it onely of the Kingdome of Mediatorship: but your owne Author *Zanchy* understandeth it of both: yea you your selfe understand it of both: And some Texts by mee alledged here, parallel to that of *Phil.* 2. you apply to both; why not then this Text? Next, because I say that *Christ* according to his *humane nature* is advanced to the glory of the naturall kingdome, and that he is exalted to be partaker of the *glory of the divine nature* in the *inheriting of all things*; you maliciously lay Eutychisme to my charge, as if I meant that the humane nature is absorpt by the divine

Phil. 2. 9 10.

Anim. pag. 88.

divine nature, uncharitably conſtruing this Phraſe [*according to the humane nature*] contrary to my meaning. As if I meant it as a cauſe. *Chriſt according to his humane nature* is onely this, *Chriſt man*, or *Chriſt in the humanitie*; and ſo *Veſin** underſtandeth the very ſame phraſe, and to the very ſame purpoſe, as I doe here: neither doe I ſay that *Chriſt man* is partaker of the *divine Eſſence*, but onely of the *glory* of it, in the *inheriting of all things*; neither doe I confound the *two kingdomes*, as you lay to my charge, but onely diſtinguiſh them: therefore you ſhew your ſelfe a moſt malicious perſon in charging me thus falſely as you doe; which to compaſſe, you care not how abſurdly you contradict your ſelfe. Next when you are empty in ſubſtantiall exceptions, you come upon me for a daſh or point; affirming as if I had ſet downe a *Comma* for a *Colon*, but ſhew me not where; and I profeſſe I cannot finde where it is in the whole *Section*, as you lay to my *charge*. Where-ever it is I did nothing *purpoſely*; a daſh may miſcarry in the writing or in the Preſſe. Therefore *T. B.* is lame and not I, in making ſuch lame exceptions. Here yet for all your ſtrouting you ſtand to anſwer to thoſe *parallel Scriptures*, where is ſhewed the *Subjection* of every creature to the *Kingdome of Chriſt*, for hitherto you have not anſwered them nor *thoſe Authors*, which I have brought for it. Your *Syllogiſme* is not right. This you ſay, that name above which there is no name of God, is the name above every name. But ſo is the Name of Jeſus. In your *maior* you deſert your opinion, for you ſhould have ſaid, that name which is above every name of God, for that is your opinion. In your *minor* there is an equivocation, for you doe not ſhew what name you meane by the name of Jeſus, ſeeing you will not have it called the Name Jeſus.

If you had dealt fairely you ſhould have ſet down my words as they were corrected and not as they were miſprinted.

* Catech. p. 308. l. 31.

SECT. III.

WHerein I ſhew, that *bowing of the Knee* in this Text is not to be taken *literally* and *expreſſely*, for the bowing of that member of the body, which we call the knee. My firſt reaſon is becauſe *bowing* in the Scripture is taken figuratively, therefore may otherwiſe be underſtood, *Pſal.* 44. 25. *Hab.* 3. 6. And ſo ſecondly, are knees taken *metaphorically*. Here Mr. *Batten* ſaith

Ezek 7. 17. Iſay 35. 3.

ſaith that theſe two reaſons hold nothing: but Sir, I pray you take all my reaſons together, and ſo they prove ſufficiently what I intend, as it is ſaid, *out of the mouth of two or three witneſſes every thing ſhall be eſtabliſhed*: one doth it not alone, but two or three united: You ſee, I except my two firſt from evidently proving, they ſhew onely that this expoſition is agreeable to the *Scriptures*, my maine ſtrength lies in my third *Reaſon*, confirmed by the other: where I prove that becauſe *Angels, Devills, ſoules of men* muſt bow; beſides ſenſitive, and inſenſitive creatures; which have no proper knees: therefore proper knees are not commanded. For if ſuch knees were properly commanded, it would be injuſtice in God to require ſuch knees where they are not: as in a King if hee ſhould command ſuch a ſumme of mony to be payd by his ſubjects, which he knowes they are not able to pay. That which you anſwer to this is to no purpoſe; For it is abſurd to ſay, becauſe ſome creatures have knees, they are bound to bow proper knees *expreſſely*, and thoſe creatures that have no knees, are bound to bow *analogically*: for the ſame bowing is injoyned to all, if the Text did make a *difference* it were ſomething; but there is no difference in the Text. But you will prove that *Angels* have *knees* as well as *Tongues*, 1 *Cor.* 13.1. and *faces*, *Rev.* 7. 11. and they are ſaid to ſtand, to fall downe, which inſinuate knees; and this you ſay is enough to thoſe that will be ſatisfied with reaſon; Sir this reaſon will not ſatisfie any one that knowes the *Scriptures*: for becauſe faces, tongues and bodily poſtures are aſcribed to Angels, it will not follow that they have them properly, no more then becauſe hands, face, eares, backparts, and poſtures of deſcending and marching on are aſcribed to God in Scripture, that God hath theſe properly.

Now becauſe you except things inſenſitive from this bowing, I will overthrow you by your owne infallible witneſſe Doctor *Page*, * who cites ſundry authors to ſhew that this Text is to be underſtood of the ſubjection of all, both *friends* and *enemies*, to *Chriſt*, alledging for proofe that place of 1 *Cor.* 15. 25. *We muſt reigne till he hath put all his enemies under his feet*; in the next verſe it is ſubjoyned, *the laſt enemy that ſhall be deſtroyed is death*: whereby it is expreſſely ſhewed that death alſo being an enemy muſt bow and fulfill the Text. I would faine know now what bodily

* *Inſtit* of bowing, p. 48.

knees hath Death: Death doth in part bow already; becauſe it is in part ſubdued: but how will you have Death bow at the mention of the Name Jeſus? except you thinke the knee bones of the dead rattle in the graves, when you name Jeſus in the Church over them; but you muſt make their hearts to underſtand, and the Sculles to heare too, elſe it is paſt any underſtanding, to conceive how it can be done. But I muſt tell you Sir, how ever you will wrangle it out, that your friends and your ſelfe too underſtand this Text figuratively. For * Doctor *Page* from *Origen*, and * you your ſelfe from that Author doe underſtand it of the knees of the *ſoule* as well as of the *body*; ſo doth *Sutten*. Now what proper knees have *ſoules*? then what proper knees have *Angels*? which are purer Spirits then ſoules: So that underſtanding it thus, you muſt needs underſtand it of the *whole ſtrength* of the creature, for what proper knees have *ſoules* more then other parts of the body? yea, they come nearer to proper knees then the ſoule; being corporeall as the proper knee is, which ſoules are not. Therefore you expounding the Text of ſoul-knees, you cannot in any ſenſe exclude the other parts of the body, beſides the proper knee, and therefore whether you will or no, you muſt yeeld to me here; If you underſtand the Text of expreſſe corporeall knees, then are no other knees commanded, then are not *Angels* and *Devills* to bow becauſe they have no ſuch knees, and ſo it will be *will-worſhip* in you to give any part beſides the *knee*, and then you ſinne, when you put of your hat, and bow your bodie at the name; when in ſo doing you doe rather ſtiffen your knees, then bow them. If the *proper knee* be expreſſely commanded, that part onely muſt be given and nothing elſe in ſtead of it, then you cannot underſtand it of ſoule-knees; for ſoule-knees are no proper knees. Therefore you muſt with me here (yea you doe if you could ſee) underſtand by bowing every knee, the ſubjection of the whole creature to Chriſt. That כרע and κάμπτω are properly taken for ſuch a bowing, as yeelds an outward expreſſion, is nothing to the purpoſe, for ſuch words as are taken *properly* are ſometimes uſed *improperly*, as עור which properly ſignifieth to *goe forth* or *walke* on, is improperly applyed to God, *Pſal.* 68.7. So doth the word uſed *Gen.* 18. 21. properly ſignifie to goe downe, which is yet aſcribed to God who properly cannot deſcend.

* *Inſtit.* of bowing, p. 87.
* *Ant* p. 44.
+ Learne to live, Chap. 14.

ſcend. So that in that I have ſaid, I doe not deny the *knee*; but I affirme that it is no more commanded then the *ſoule*; or other parts of the body. For the ſecond part of this Section, *viz.* the confeſſion of the tongue; you doe extreamely trifle with mee; for you ſpeake falſely in ſaying, that I exclude the tongue of the body properly ſo called, you ſee I mention it; but I underſtand it not of the ſaid tongue expreſſely, and particularly, but in a generall ſenſe, all tongues muſt ſpeake as well as this tongue, ſoule tongues, and all bodily tongues, the vertures of the whole creature, yea as *David* ſaith, all my bones ſhall ſay, Lord who is like to thee? *Pſal.* 35.10. even as the *inſenſitive creatures*, that have no tongues, are ſaid to ſpeake the *praiſe of Chriſt**. Yea you plainely agree with me here, for you ſay no more then I, and I as much as you, you ſay the heart, and tongue, ſoule and body muſt be ſubject; and ſo *confeſſe*. Your acknowledging that *irrationall creatures* confeſſe Chriſt doth evidently overthrow your Tenet of the not bowing of thoſe *creatures*; for all that in the Text confeſſe, doe alſo blow the knee, ſeeing then theſe confeſſe they muſt needs bow; ſo that you and I doe not greatly fall out in this *Section* if you could ſee it: but you doe not ſee it as appeareth by your ſyllogiſme, the *minor* whereof I deny, and have diſproved.

You doe not here anſwer the parallel of kiſſing Chriſt, Pſal. 2. 12. by which ſubjection is ſignified as well as by bowing, but you ſay, Sect. 18. bowing and the kiſſe hold not, becauſe we have the name to bow to, not the perſon to kiſſe, but at the day of judgement hee will appeare; belike then you will be ſo bold as to kiſſe Chriſt at that day, if once you be made Lord Biſhop.

* Rev. 5. 13. Pſal 19. 1, 2, 3. Pſal. 148.

SECT. IV.

HEre I affirme, that to underſtand this phraſe *in the Name of Jeſus* to be *at the mention of the Name Jeſus* cannot be paralleld in the expoſition of the ſaid phraſe by any Scripture. *In the name* prefixed before any title of *God*; yea I now ſay before any name whatſoever, can no where beare this ſenſe; firſt, you deny that you bow at the bare Name *Jeſus*, but of that before, and you give me barbarous language in that I ſay you underſtand it *at the mention of the Name Jeſus*: But if you ſtood not in need of Hellebore (as you ſay I doe) you would not be ſo outragious in outfacing the plaine truth; you ſay (forſooth) at the mention of Jeſus, but not at the name Jeſus. Who underſtandeth you now? if you bow at the mention of Jeſus, it muſt be done as well at the mention of any other title of Jeſus, by which hee

is denominated. If not at the mention of the name Jesus, why doe you keepe such a stirre about this name? all the world sees that you bow at the mention of this name, and no other; and if you meane it not at the *time* when this name is mentioned, why doe you it *immediately*, and not let it alone till some other time? you your selfe say otherwise in this Section ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ is all one ἐν τῷ ἐνομάζεσθαι Ἰησοῦν when Jesus is named; Yea you yeeld at length, and forsooth you say you will overcome mee with my owne weapons, as when I say, *Psal.* 118. 10. *all nations compassed me about, but in the Name of the Lord I will destroy them*: would it not be a wild sense, say I, to understand it thus, *at the naming of the Lord I will destroy them? You here aske me if I were well when I printed this; for say you, can there be any more intended by In the name of the Lord, then the bringing the Lord into the middest betweene him and his enemies? and is there any other way to doe that then by the faithfull mention of his name?* Sir, I was better when I printed this clause then you, when you answered; it but doe you expound this Text as you doe, *Phil.* 2. 9, 10? doth In there signifie time, as you expound it in *Phil.* 2. and match it with *Gen.* 1. 1? *In* here indeed notes the *cause*, but not *time*. So that the meaning is this, *In the name of the Lord*, i.e. *by the power and assistance of the Lord I will destroy them*: but if you will parallel this place with *Phil.* 2. 10. as you understand it, you must make the sense to bee this. All nations compassed me about; but when the *Lord is mentioned*, that is, at the instant time thereof, I will destroy them, as at the very time, when Jesus is mentioned you bow; if this be the meaning of the *Psalmist*, I see no reason but you must have a Sword, or a Pistoll, or such like with you at the Church, and when the Lord is mentioned, you must fall to killing your enemies; and then when the people say *good Lord deliver us*, if you have any enemies there, they deliver up themselves into your hands, to be killed, and so you will not bee of *Davids* minde; for he when his adversaries were against him, gave himselfe to prayers, but when your enemies pray you will kill them. My next Scripture is, *Act.* 9. 29. *Saul spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus*, I say it would be infinitely absurd to say hee spake boldly at the naming of the Lord Jesus; *you cry out against mee and say is this absurd? and infinitely too? we all know that Paul was a zealous professor, and might not be be stout at the mention or naming*

of

of Jesus? he is stoutly preached, whom we feare to name. Now you cry out where is this great challenger? were I Anteus I should never rise againe: but stay Sir, I am on my legges yet, to buckle with you once, and againe; What, doth *In* signifie *time* here, as you wil have it signifie at *Phil.* 2. 9? *Nomen capitur pro professione*: "*Name* "*is taken for profession. So the sense is this, Paul valiantly defended the* "*cause of Christ*; but if you will have In signifie the present time there, then the sense will be this; *Saul* preached or spake boldly when Jesus was named, that is, as soone as ever the Name was named, as accordingly you bow. Then it will follow that whensoever you heare *Jesus* named you must fall to *preaching*, and then as soone as you come in the *Common Booke of Prayer* to the absolution, *Jesus* being named you must fall to *preaching*, and then you must curtaile almost all the *Divine Service*, and run into that which you judge a great fault in others, goe to your Sermon before you have said the *Lords Prayer*, or *Canonicall prayer*; & though you should make but a short Sermon & returne to your absolution, at the conclusion of it *Jesus* is named againe, and once more you must goe to *preaching* before you come to the Lords Prayer; and if you preach every time Jesus is named in the divine service, you will preach oftner in a day then any of those you call *Puritans*, in a quarter of a yeare at least; and if often preaching bee as you deeme, a note of a *Puritane*, you will be the *rankest Puritane* in the world; yea in the *absolution Jesus* and *Lord* being both mentioned together, you must *preach* and *kill*, all at one time, and this I thinke will bee the maddest Sermon that ever was made. In the next place as if my owne *weapons* were not enough to strike me dead, you will strike mee with your owne, and what are they? First, you bring the third Commandement, but this phrase in the name is not there. Next you come to *Joh.* 16. 23. whatsoever you shall aske the Father in my name; that is, say you by faith mentioning me as *mediatour*. And then you argue, *Act.* 5. 40. *not to speake in the name of Jesus, either by preaching, say you, or otherwise to his glory, at our invocation over the name of Iesus is a fruitfull naming, or mentioning of him; not inwardly alwayes, but by heart and tongue also alwayes unto God, Ephes.* 5. 20. To what purpose is this brought? what frivolous stuffe is here? And yet you having had me downe before in your conceit, now you gall me terribly. But we will examine these places: as for

Act. 5.40. it is answered before in *Act.* 9.29. being a parallel place, but I adde this further to it, Were the Apostles forbidden to mention the name Jesus? did not their enemies mention Jesus as well as they?

But you adde [*to his glory*]. But you will have your people bow when you mention *Iesus* in the Church, but you will not have them question whether you doe it to his glory or no; As for *Ioh.*16.23. we are bidden there *to pray to the Father in the name of Christ*, that is, in and by *Christ himselfe*, as other places demonstrate: but I pray Sir, doth In here signifie time? If you understand this place as you doe *Phil.*2. the sense will be this, whatsoever you aske of my Father, when Jesus is named; then it will follow that whensoever you heare *Iesus* named, you must fall to *Prayer*. And as before this sense of *Act.* 9.29. will drive you to *preaching* in the time of *prayer*: So here it will drive you to *prayer* in the time of *preaching*, if at any time you name Jesus in it; and what a confusion will this be also?

*Sect.5. You make the mentioning of Jesus to bee a signe how to know when to bow, by this reason you must make it also a signe how to know when to preach and pray.

But to returne againe to these two places, *Act.* 9. and *Ioh.*16. If Master *Barton* bring *Phil.*2.9. to the meaning of these two places as he understands them, he cannot but know that preaching and praying is begun, and continued before and after Jesus is named, and not then begun onely at the instant time of naming of it, for Jesus is named but now and then; then according to this you must continue all along your *Gesture* of bowing, throughout preaching and praying, though the name Jesus be seldome mentioned; and then you must neither kneele nor stand, but have your body bowed all the time halfe way to the ground, and then there shall not be any visible appearance of bowing at the name Jesus more then ordinary, then at any other name whatsoever, which may bee named in preaching or prayer: and if any should see you in this *posture*, continuing halfe bowed to the ground, they would thinke you to be disposed to another kinde of businesse then preaching or prayer. I appeale here to all the world whether you have not here given your selfe such *a shamefull foyle* as you will never be able to recover. My exposition of *Psal.* 63.4. you mislike not; but yet it cannot beare your sense of *Phil.*2.9. for though the Saints have used to lift up the hands in prayer, yet I thinke they are not precisely bound to it; and if they were, it is senseleſſe to gather

from

from this or any other place, that they are bound to a new act of lifting up the hands every time the name of God ſounds, which ſenſe you muſt put upon it, if you match it with *Phil.*2.9. you have not proved yet that In the name ſignifieth any where at the time of mentioning the name, neither can you; here then one maine pillar of your cauſe is ſhaken downe.

SECT. V.

TO my gathering up my ſenſe together you wrong me, for ſaying that I doe not keepe the *Analogie* of the advancing *Chriſts glory* above all *glories*; for I name *dignities*, which is all one. And Doctor *Page* ſaith that the name *Jeſus* was made a name *beneath* all names, and how doe I then offend in ſaying that Chriſt received a name beneath all names in his humiliation; though we differ in the ſenſe of the word *name*? And Sir let the wind be in what *quarter* it will, I truſt I ſhall alwayes ſtand for outward *worſhip*: but not for this your ſuperſtitious worſhip: And I muſt tell you Sir, that *better ſchollers* then your ſelfe, that are farther from *Arianiſme*, then you from *Antichriſtianiſme*, doe underſtand Name here for power and glory, as generally all our *moderne Divines**. And when I ſay, Chriſt ſhall be manifeſted to be Lord, &c. I doe not meane, *given* is manifeſted, but that he ſhall fully manifeſt himſelfe to the Lord by his glorious power, eſpecially at the day of judgement, when alſo all tongues ſhall acknowledge him ſo to be. For your expoſition of the Text, as I lay to your charge, it muſt be ſo, for the Text *limits* no time to us more then to any other *creature*, if we are bound to bow at the Name *Jeſus*: but at *preaching*, and *prayer*, at *publike* and *private devotion*, eſpecially on the *Lords day*, then the *Devils* and *damned* are no more bound: then you muſt have *preaching* and *prayer* in hell; and Devils and damned to obſerve the Lords day, and to have publike and private devotion: and what I have ſaid againſt this crotchet of yours in Sect. 10,11. neither Dr. *Page* here, nor your ſelfe there have taken off, for you ſay nothing to the purpoſe.

Inſtit. of bowing, p.41.

* *Zanchy* your owne witneſſe ſo underſtandeth it.

* *Dedit illi nomen quod eſt ſupra omnen, ſenſui eſt, Chriſtum, qui etiam homo, propter ſuam obedientiam & humilitatem ſupra omnia fuiſſe a patre exaltatum, ut nulla ſit vel in cœlis, vel in terris par dignitas, Da 369. Elohim, l.3. c.2.p.430.*

But you will have the expoſition of the Text to be this: *the Lord Jeſus by the union, and for our ſalvation was humbled: wherefore*

fore God exalted him, and ſet up the name Jeſus above every name; that for the union, and our ſalvation, every rationall creature ſhould bow at the name of Jeſus; which you will have to be at the mention of Jeſus.

Now whereas you eſteeme my interpretation to be ſhort, hard, doubtful; I appeale to all the *world* whether I have added or detracted any thing, or have not made good every *clauſe* from the *Scriptures*. And that your interpretation is not according to the Scriptures I have proved; and beſides you adde to the Text: for theſe words (*for the union, and for our ſalvation*) are not in the Text.

In my notation of the *abſurdities* of your opinion, I ſay againe, to underſtand *Name* for *glory*, the name is knowne what is given *Chriſt*: but to underſtand name for a proper name; it is not ſhewed what name it is in this clauſe, (*God gave him a name above every name*) and whereas you bid me looke for it in the 10. *verſe*, I referre my ſelfe to this *clauſe*, and in verſe 10. you contradict your ſelfe; for you ſtill fall out with me for calling it the *Name Jeſus*: You doe not then ſhew what *Name* it is; the reſt of your anſwer is but *raylingand very babling* and is ſufficiently anſwered already.

In my ſecond note I ſay againe that in your expoſition you doe not denote the *perſon* properly, to whom the bowing ſhall be done, but onely ſet downe a time when the *bowing* ſhall bee done, neither have you anſwered it; for the Name *Jeſus*, as you meane it, is diſtinct from the *perſon*. But you ſay, how ſhall wee know when to bow if it be not ſignified by ſome *ſigne*? I reply, by what *ſigne* ſhall wee know how to honour the Father? you will not obey without ſignes. Thoſe *famous Churches* that abominate your bowing, know how and when to honour *Chriſt* better then your ſelfe.

Thirdly, I ſay againe that in this your expoſition you apply no *honour* at all to the name, if you make *In* to ſignifie *time*, but onely make it a *watchword* when to bow, you ſet not downe to whom. And if you underſtand *In* for *To*, as Biſhop *Andrewes* doth underſtand it alſo, then you give *the name* the whole bowing of the *regard*, and *honour* alſo, call it what you will, and none at all to the perſon: but referring it to both you adde to the *Text*, and either way you make it *Idolatry*; in the firſt ſenſe it is evidently plaine, and in the ſecond *Biſhop Babington* parallels it with

Idolatry,

Idolatry, you know it well enough though you will take no notice of it. And you are an impudent person to say that Bishop *Babington* in that place saith nothing against your *sense*; for he neither understandeth *Name* to be *Jesus*, but *power, and glory*, neither doth he understand bowing *literally*, but for subjection, and he calls your worship *syllable worship*, and saith such worshippers are given up to *delusions*: As for Dr. *Whitakers*, he is as full as any against your sense, though hee might hold it indifferent, so bowing be at other names also; but sole bowing at the name Jesus he holds unlawfull, and utterly damnes your exposition; not onely in that place which I have quoted, but in his answer to *William Reynolds* *; your Argument in the end is but a meere begging of the Question without proofe, and so I leave it. As for Sir *Edward Deering*, he is no expositour of Scripture: I cannot judge of him, because I have not seene him. Exposition of the Creed. * Page 398.

SECT. VI.

HEre I shew that the said exposition of this Text is not confirmed by any correspondent Scripture speaking of the same thing, and there be some words and phrases so expounded here, as the like words, and phrases will not beare that sense in any Scripture, as I have fully proved in the premises (this I say, and this is my meaning though you bee willing to wrest me) therefore this is a false exposition. The consequence I prove from *Rom.* 12. 6. and 2 *Pet.* 1. 20. you say the meaning of these Scriptures is that all interpretations must be made according to the Axiomes of the Christian faith. But granting this it makes against you; for the Axiomes of our faith must be proved by the Scriptures. Your answer to my testimonies of *Augustine* and *Zanchy* is nothing at all, but this; is *Augustine*; is *Zanchy* for you? which is frivolous. To your curse in the conclusion, I oppose that of the Psalmist, *Psal.* 109. *He loved cursing, therefore it shall happen to him.* Psal. 109.

SECT. VII.

FOr the Argument is this Section, there is nothing to any purpose ſayd to it, but impertinent trifling more then hath beene anſwered before, and ſhall be anſwered afterward. Therefore for brevities ſake I pretermit it. Onely this I tell you Sir, that though all men in ſome degree of Subjection doe now fulfill the Text, will they, nill they, Chriſt being Lord of all, yet all cannot bow, yea are not bound to bow at the Name Jeſus, as Infants and deafe men, and thoſe Nations that never heard of Jeſus, and in whoſe hearts the ſenſe of the name is not written. And though *Chryſoſtome* doe underſtand πάντων of all nations, it makes againſt you, for the name Jeſus doth not concerne all in all nations; yet other Interpreters doe underſtand πάντων of all things.

SECT. VIII.

IN this Section I muſt be large, for upon this the whole Queſtion dependeth; and we ſhall ſee whether or no it runs out of it *veines*, as you charge me, or, you in your anſwer have not runne out of your *ſelfe* and from the *truth*. To let paſſe impertinent things, and railings, and your falſe charging of me, that I depart from the ſenſe of the *Oeconomicall kingdome*; I come preſently to the *Argument*, which is briefely this. *Bowing at the mention of the name Jeſus is not the bowing to be performed at the day of judgement, therefore it is not now commanded in the Text:* The conſequent you grant, but you deny the antecedent and affirme that this bowing ſhall be at the day of judgement.

See Sect. 2.

your charging me with a contradiction is but meere ſophiſtry: the true bowing ſhall be there in degree, and at the day of judgement perfectly, but not your bowing; but what is your reaſon for it? none of any antiquity wrote againſt it. A pretty reaſon; how could they write againſt it when they never heard of it? by this reaſon any *Heretique* may bring up a new hereſie and plead for himſelfe, none before ſpake againſt it. But how doe you anſwer my Reaſons againſt it? Firſt I ſay there is no Scripture for it, and it is *impoſſible* if it were ſo, that

ſo

so many cleare *Scriptures* speaking so fully of the *day of judgement* should say nothing of this; but you say you have more *cleere Scriptures* for it, than I have against it, else you will give up the cause.

Sir, you have need indeed to be well advised what you deliver, for you make it so necessary a point of *faith*, that whosoever will not beleeve it, shall misse *eternall life*, & that whosoever will not now *practise* it shall be *damned for ever*. For points of *Faith* and *necessary worship* I must have certaine rules from Scripture, *Psal.*8.20. *Micah* 6.8. *Faith* in an *evidence*, *Heb.*1.11. I must be so sure of it, that if an Angell from heaven should teach otherwise to hold him accursed; you must then bring such sure Scriptures that there must be cast no just cause of doubt, else you will bring sinne upon all that practise it, *Rom.* 14. 23. you must so confirme it by Scriptures, as to leave all without excuse, that will not beleeve it, and practise it, if you can doe this you carry all, if not, you overthrow all; for this Section is the hinge of the Question. Now we will peruse your Scriptures: First, you urge that of *Phil.*2.9. on which lyeth the question, most ridiculous; The next place is 2 *Thess.*1. 10. 12. but for the tenth Verse no name is mentioned at all. And for the twelfth verse, the words are these, *That the name of our Lord Iesus Christ may be glorified in you, and you in him.* I answer, that very good authors, as *Calvin* and *Marlorate* do understand it of *Christ* being glorified by us " in an *holy life*. Thus saith *Calvin*, *Revocat nos*, *&c. Hee calls us* " *backe to the chiefe end of our life, that we should serve the Lord of* " *glory; it is chiefely to be noted that they shall againe bee glorified in* " *Christ, who have set forth the glory of Christ.* This agrees with the precedent verse as *Marlorate* on that place well observes. And to this doth *Zanchy* agree, and though hee doe also allow the other, and apply it to the day of judgement; yet doth he not understand it of any *literall name*, but of the *person of Christ*, for " thus he saith. The summe of these words is this, that *Christ* " *shall be glorified in us as the head in the members, when he endueth* " *us with that glory wherewith himselfe is glorified.* I have proved Section 1. First, that this phrase, *Name of Iesus*, or *Name of God*, or *Lord*, doth usually denote the *power and glory of God*; or Jesus either implicitely or expresly: And it doth never any where denote any *bare title*. Now here is your Argument, *the Lord Iesus*

Avtrtel.p.59. & p.65.

 shall

ſhall be glorified in the Saints at the day of judgement. Ergo, all rationall creatures ſhall bow corporall knees at the name Ieſus at that day: a very ſenſeleſſe inconſequent: I am very confident that you cannot bring any orthodox interpreter to underſtand that Text of the literall Name Jeſus. If it could bee proved, Jeſus is no more mentioned there, then Lord and Chriſt; and there is no mention of bowing at any name. Thoſe Texts of *Iſay* 45.23. and *Rom.* 14.11. though they be to be underſtood of the judgement, make nothing for the purpoſe. Thus we ſee how trimly Maſter *Barton* hath anſwered my firſt reaſon.

My ſecond reaſon is this; To what end ſhall the Name Jeſus be named at that day, that all ſhould bow at the mention of it, when Chriſt ſhall appeare in his moſt glorious name of power and glory; when he ſhall not come as a Jeſus to the moſt that ſhall then bow; but a Lord to all, and ſo ſhall all call him? Here you are very ſnuffe; as it is uſuall with you when your anſwers are moſt weake, there to bee moſt outragious: you tell me it is a demand, rather then a diſproofe: but diſproofes by queſtions as ordinarily moſt vehement; but you here fearefully wreſt my words; for I have not ſaid that the name Jeſus ſhall not be mentioned at all at that day, but that it ſhall not be mentioned that all ſhall bow at it, but if I ſhould have denyed that the name Jeſus ſhall be then mentioned, it is more then you can prove by any cleare Scriptures; Becauſe then you referre me to your *Arm.* wee will examine the Scriptures you there mention.

Firſt, you bring 2 *Theſſ.* 1.7. where it is ſaid *that in that day the Lord Ieſus ſhall be revealed*: but this is ſpoken of the perſon, not of the literall Name: it is no more but this; Chriſt himſelfe ſhall appeare in judgement; and here the emphaſis is in the word *Lord*, being the title of his honour, rather then in *Jeſus*. Your ſecond inſtance is 2 *Theſſ.* 1.12. but that is anſwered already. The third place is 2 *Cor.* 1.14. where *the day of judgement is called the day of the Lord Ieſus*, this is all one with the firſt inſtance; upon this you deſcant, *ſhall he have a day, and ſhall he not be mentioned?* But it will not follow that becauſe the ſaid day is called the day of the Lord Jeſus, that therefore the Name Ieſus ſhall be mentioned, becauſe there is nothing ſpoken of the bare literall name, but perſon. Your next place is *Phil.* 2. 10. *Every*

tongue

tongue ſhall confeſſe Jeſus Chriſt to be Lord: you then fall very furiouſly on them that ſhall queſtion the Name Jeſus to bee then mentioned, in this manner? *If they be Schollers, can they be thus ignorant? if Divines, be they not infatuated? if both, are they not in contempt?* But ſoft Sir, better Schollers, better Divines, and worthier men than your ſelfe cannot neceſſarily make your concluſion from this place.

The Apoſtle ſpeaking here in the *third perſon* ſhewes what ſhall be at the day of judgement, and therefore might well ſpeake of Chriſt in his proper name, yet it will not follow thence that the name Jeſus ſhall be then mentioned, when they that ſhall then appeare ſhall not ſpeake in the third perſon; but ſhall ſpeak to Chriſt in the ſecond perſon before his face. But I pray Sir tell me, if the *Name Jeſus* be to be then ſounded out, who ſhall ſound it out? you did once tell me, that the *Trumpe* ſhould doe it, but that is ridiculous. Shall *Chriſt* himſelfe ſound it out? there is no proofe of that. Shall thoſe that ſhall appeare before him ſound it out? there is no proofe of that; there bee ſundry Scriptures that they ſhall call him *Lord*, but not one that they ſhall call him *Jeſus* at that day: So then the *Apoſtle* might well ſay ſpeaking of Chriſt in the third *perſon*, before the day of judgment, that every tongue ſhall confeſſe Jeſus to be Lord at that day, for in calling him Lord they call Jeſus Lord, though they doe not Name the word Jeſus; As when any Sir to your face ſhall call you *Prieſt*, it may be juſtly ſaid, when you are ſpoken of in the third perſon, that they called *Thomas Barton Prieſt*, though they named not *Thomas* when they ſo called you. So then hee that doubts this ſay you, doubts all, this may juſtly bee doubted, and ſo all may bee doubted. But if you could prove this to bee true, as for my part I will not peremptorily deny it, though there is no cleare Scripture for it, yet what can you get by this proofe? will it therefore follow, that all ſhall bow at the mention of the Name Jeſus? This is your Argument or it is nothing at all, but it is a mad *inconſequence*. This conſequence, if good, will make certainly for bowing at the Name *Lord*, which ſhall then be mentioned by *confeſſion*. *Chriſt* indeed ſhall bee bowed to by all as *Lord*, but not at the Name *Lord*, Chriſt ſhall be confeſt to be *Lord*, therefore to him as Lord ſhall the bowing bee perfor-

med, if the Text had ſaid, that every tongue ſhall confeſſe the *Lord Chriſt* to be *Jeſus*, then had *Jeſus* beene the Name to bee confeſt, but ſeeing that they ſhall confeſſe Jeſus Chriſt to bee Lord, it is plaine, that Lord is the Name, as being ſaid, that all the Subjects in *England* doe confeſſe *Charles* to be *King*, they doe not properly now confeſſe the King to be *Charles*, but *Charles* to be King. And whereas you returne me to your Arrow. Tract. 7. I appeale to the judicious, whether there bee any thing to the purpoſe, or whether that I have here ſet downe doe not overthrow all there ſpoken. But whereas you ſay *that the confeſſion of Jeſus is the utmoſt end in regard of our ſelves, becauſe there is no other name wherein we ſhall be ſaved:* This is nothing to the Text: For Angels, Devils and Reprobates, that muſt bow as well as wee, cannot have this end, for it is not a Name to them for *ſalvation*. Againe you wreſt the ſaid Text pitifully for your owne ends, for what orthodox expoſitour can you produce to make *Name* there the literall Name *Jeſus*? that it is meant of the perſon of our Saviour, the precedent words are plaine. * Ex- "plicatio eſt proximæ ſententiæ, &c. It is the explication of the "next ſentence, in Chriſt alone is ſalvation, for by name he un- "derſtands the cauſe or meane. * Againe you tranſlate it cunningly, and purpoſely to hide your craft. *Wherein* is as much as *whereby*, and ſo our laſt tranſlation reads it, it hath the force of a Cauſall, and if you meane ſo too, then underſtanding Name for the literall Name Jeſus, it cannot be avoided but you muſt make the Name Jeſus our Saviour, which is flat Idolatry.

Act. 4 12.

* *Calvin in Locum.*

* In part 2. Sect. 1. you ſay I ſlander the Church for giving my judgement concerning the tranſlation of Phil. 2. 9. but here your ſelfe alter the tranſlation for your owne ends.

Next you fall foule upon my Argument, and tell me that it is very falſe to ſay, that Chriſt ſhall come as a Lord to all, and not as Jeſus, and that the ſimple people are abuſed by my miſapplying the Text, *Matth.* 25. 37. 44. But that I have neither abuſed the Text, nor the people, I have made good ſufficiently; but that you have done both it is evident to your ſhame. But you have not ſet downe my words right, for I ſay thus, He ſhall not come as a Jeſus to all that ſhall bow. But by two *reaſons* you will prove that I have miſapplyed the Text. The firſt is by a *Queſtion*: Who is Lord, ſay you, but Jeſus? Here you abſurdly confound theſe two Names, making them all one. I deny not that *Jeſus* the *perſon* is *Lord*, but I deny that the Name *Jeſus* is the Name *Lord*. Your ſecond reaſon is, becauſe Jeſus being

being the Saviour of us, is the *confounding Jesus* of his, and our enemies: this is your Argument; *to whom he is not a saving Jesus, he is a confounding Jesus*, so one way hee is a *Jesus* to all. But Sir the name Jesus is a saving, not a confounding Name, and it was given not for Angels, Devils and Reprobates, but for his people onely, and that for salvation, not for destruction, all this is plaine from *Matth.*1.21. Seeing then you affirme that the bowing in the Text must bee done in the sense of this Name, the *Angels* cannot bow in the sense of this Name, except you will make them *sinners*; for *Jesus* is a *Saviour* from sinne: much lesse can *Devils* and *Reprobates* bow to him in that sense, except you will have them to be *saved*. Againe it is utterly against the *Scripture* to hold, that Jesus as *Jesus* is a confounder, for all the while that he was most commonly called by this Name and was in the state of saving us, *Hee was meeke, mild; went about doing good, would not breake the bruised Reed, nor quench the smoaking Flax.* When his Disciples requested of him to command fire from heaven to destroy those that would not receive him, he rebukes them saying, *The Sonne of man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them*; marke the reason, he would not destroy, because he came to save. So againe, *If any heare my words, and beleeve not, I judge him not*; consider the reason, for saith he, *I came not to judge the world, but to save the world.* You see then, he cannot judge or destroy as Jesus; salvation and destruction are contrary. Act.10. Luke 9. 56. Joh.12.47.

If any object, that this was in the time of his humiliation, but he shall come otherwise to judgement; I answer, the sense of the Name can never be altered, God cannot deny his word; If at any time salvation be opposed to destruction or judgement it is ever so. The name Jesus therefore being an humble, & lowly name (as you confesse) and a saving name, cannot be the Name in which he shall come as universall Judge; but that must be a Name of power and authority over all as I have proved.

But might I grant, as I will not, that Jesus is a confounding Name to some, yet it cannot be a confounding Name to those nations that never knew him, for these never offended him in this name; His Spirit of illumination, they never resisted, His Gospel they never rejected, His precious blood they never trode under their feete. Christ is an upright Judge, and shall

come

Rom. 2 6. come *to recompence every one according to his workes*: Now therefore it would bee injuſtice in Chriſt, (which were blaſphemy once to thinke) if he ſhould deſtroy them as Jeſus, againſt whom as Jeſus they never offended. This is contrary to *Rom.* 2. 12. *They that ſinne without Law, ſhall periſh without Law*, Chriſt ſhall judge them indeed as *Jehovah*, for the breach of the *Law of nature*, which he hath written in their hearts, but not as Jeſus, for ſo they never offended him. I will bring your owne witneſſe *Zanchy* againſt you, *Cauſa Unica*; The onely cauſe why the "creature boweth knees to God is not becauſe he is Judge, or "Mediatour, but onely becauſe he is Jehovah, which he pro-"veth from, *Deut.* 6. 13. *Iſa.* 45. 23. *Rom.* 14. 11. Now let us briefely ſumme up all: you have not proved by any cleare Scriptures, that Jeſus ſhall be named at the day of judgement; if you could, it would not follow thence, that bowing ſhall bee at the mention of that name. You cannot prove that *In the name* doth any where ſignifie *at the mention of the Name*. Sundry Scriptures you have wickedly falſified for it, as I have proved Sect. 4. If you could prove it from ſome Scriptures, yet ſeeing this phraſe is often uſed, and hath other meaning in other Scriptures, yet there will be a juſt doubt, whether it be ſo meant in this place or no. Then thoſe that ſhall ſtand to bee judged at that day, whom you damne to hell for not performing it now, ſhall have juſt cauſe to plead againſt Chriſt in this manner; Lord in all thy other Commandements thou deliveredſt thy will plainely unto me, but here in this Text thou haſt delivered it in ſuch words as are not agreeable in ſenſe to any part of thy word elſewhere; or ſo as I could not underſtand thy meaning, whether it were according to thy will, or no; ſo that becauſe I might juſtly doubt it, I could not practiſe it without ſinning againſt thee; and how derogatory will this be to Chriſts honour that the judged ſhall have juſt cauſe of exception againſt the Judge? Again, it is againſt the Scripture to hold that he ſhall confound any in the ſenſe of the name Ieſus. It ſignifyeth a Saviour, and ſo Angels, Devils, and Reprobates cannot bow to him; It is againſt the Scriptures to hold that hee ſhall confound any as Ieſus, againſt whom as Ieſus they never ſinned.

De 369. Elohim, l. c. 3. p. 437.

Therefore Maſter *Barton* you have ſhewed your ſelfe a *Maſter Schiſmatique* in delivering an opinion that was never knowne in

in the Christian world, till you uttered it, making it a necessary point of faith, threatning the neglect of the practise of it with eternall damnation, which you cannot prove by the Scriptures, but is contrary to the Scriptures. Therefore you make your selfe a very Antichrist in creating new points of faith, and making Lawes to binde the conscience; and therefore without repentance, your selfe are liable to damnation. It followes then expressely that all the gay learned stuffe in your *Arn.* as touching the Question is overthrowne, and falls downe upon your head; your wound is incurable, it cannot be healed, and if any shall follow your doctrine and practise, of necessity wee shall have a new sect of *Bartonists*. Matth. 23. 8. 10. Jam. 4 1.

But you hold another *Crotchet* as ridiculous as this, *viz.* that the name Iesus shall to all eternitie be bowed to after the day of judgement. This you would faine prove from, *Rev.* 22. 4. where it is said, *that the Saints shall see Christs face, and his name written on their foreheads*, and then you say, wee shall see it alwayes, heare it alwayes; but I pray what shew of Text can you bring that it shall be alwayes heard? it seemes now you make it indifferent to bow to the name seene as wel as heard, but you are besides the Text. The best expositors hold that it doth not concerne heaven. Thus saith Master *Brightman* on that place, they shall enjoy a clearer vision than before, yet farre from that which they shall enjoy in heaven; and he applyeth the prophesie of *Zachary* to these times. Arn p. 62. 63. Zach. 14. 20.

But grant that it should bee referred to heaven, yet first, It cannot concerne the state of glory after the day of judgement, but before; for Christs comming is mentioned after in the 12. Verse of this Chapter. Secondly, it is absurd to take it literally: If it should be so, it denotes the name Iesus no more than any other name, and there is nothing consequent that any bowing shall be to it: but it is not so. Thus saith Master *Brightman* on that parallel place, *Rev.* 1. 14. *You may observe that this is no sensible signing.* Bowing is subjection, and Iesus is the name of our Mediator: this Doctrine will make Christ Mediator for ever, contrary to 1 *Cor.* 15. 24. for if we must bow to him in heaven by the name of his Mediatorship, we must bow also by the vertue of his Mediatorship: and so the Saints shall never be in perfect blisse, nor the enemies perfectly destroyed. And I pray how

Rom. 2 6. come *to recompence every one according to his workes*: Now therefore it would bee injuſtice in Chriſt, (which were blaſphemy once to thinke) if he ſhould deſtroy them as Jeſus, againſt whom as Jeſus they never offended. This is contrary to *Rom.* 2. 12. *They that ſinne without Law, ſhall periſh without Law*, Chriſt ſhall judge them indeed as *Jehovah*, for the breach of the *Law of nature*, which he hath written in their hearts, but not as Jeſus, for ſo they never offended him. I will bring your owne witneſſe *Zanchy* againſt you, *Cauſa Unica*; The onely cauſe why the creature boweth knees to God is not becauſe he is Judge, or Mediatour, but onely becauſe he is Jehovah, which he proveth from, *Deut.* 6. 13. *Iſa.* 45. 23. *Rom.* 14. 11. Now let us briefely ſumme up all: you have not proved by any cleare Scriptures, that Jeſus ſhall be named at the day of judgement; if you could, it would not follow thence, that bowing ſhall bee at the mention of that name. You cannot prove that *In the name* doth any where ſignifie *at the mention of the Name*. Sundry Scriptures you have wickedly falſified for it, as I have proved Sect. 4. If you could prove it from ſome Scriptures, yet ſeeing this phraſe is often uſed, and hath other meaning in other Scriptures, yet there will be a juſt doubt, whether it be ſo meant in this place or no. Then thoſe that ſhall ſtand to bee judged at that day, whom you damne to hell for not performing it now, ſhall have juſt cauſe to plead againſt Chriſt in this manner; Lord in all thy other Commandements thou deliveredſt thy will plainely unto me, but here in this Text thou haſt delivered it in ſuch words as are not agreeable in ſenſe to any part of thy word elſewhere; or ſo as I could not underſtand thy meaning, whether it were according to thy will, or no; ſo that becauſe I might juſtly doubt it, I could not practiſe it without ſinning againſt thee; and how derogatory will this be to Chriſts honour that the judged ſhall have juſt cauſe of exception againſt the Judge? Again, it is againſt the Scripture to hold that he ſhall confound any in the ſenſe of the name Ieſus. It ſignifyeth a Saviour, and ſo Angels, Devils, and Reprobates cannot bow to him; It is againſt the Scriptures to hold that hee ſhall confound any as Ieſus, againſt whom as Ieſus they never ſinned.

De 369. *Elohim, l.* c. 3. 3 *p.* 437.

Therefore Maſter *Barton* you have ſhewed your ſelfe a *Maſter Schiſmatique* in delivering an opinion that was never knowne in

in the Christian world, till you uttered it, making it a necessary point of faith, threatning the neglect of the practise of it with eternall damnation, which you cannot prove by the Scriptures, but is contrary to the Scriptures. Therefore you make your selfe a very Antichrist in creating new points of faith, and making Lawes to binde the conscience; and therefore without repentance, your selfe are liable to damnation. It followes then expressely that all the gay learned stuffe in your *Arm.* as touching the Question is overthrowne, and falls downe upon your head; your wound is incurable, it cannot be healed, and if any shall follow your doctrine and practise, of necessity wee shall have a new sect of *Bartonists*. Matth. 23. 8. 10. Jam. 4 1.

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ſhall the devils and damned bow after the day of judgement at this name, (for if the Saints muſt, they muſt alſo) except you will grant that the name Ieſus ſhall be alſo written upon their foreheads? None ever in this point exceeded ſo farre in *blaſphemy* and *abſurditie* as you have done.

You gave a childiſh anſwer to my third Reaſon, for if it bee no more than corporall bowing at a Name, a childe can performe the like to his father; and ſo Chriſt ſhould have a weake kingdome. As for Biſhop *Andrewes*, I am not the firſt that have ſo taken him, as I have ſet downe, and he is plainely ſo to bee taken, (otherwiſe there will be no ſenſe in the words) and ſo being taken, the conſequences that I have noted will directly follow.

Though names be *metaphoricall Images*, yet they repreſent the *Perſon* to our underſtanding as well as true *Images*, and I ſuppoſe that if a Iew ſhould ſee you bow to the Name *Jehovah* written upon a wall (for writing you make all one with mentioning, as before, and there is no cauſe why you ſhould doe otherwiſe by your interpretation) that he would fling a ſtone in your face; and I perſwade me, that if a ſubject ſhould bow to the Kings Name or picture before his face, hee would defie him; and though we are bound to confeſſe Chriſt according to his word, yet are we no where commanded to adore a bare Name; which to doe before Chriſts face, I ſay againe, is worſe then Idolatrie.

For the two Arguments in the coucluſion; for the firſt of them, the minor which you except againſt, hath beene proved, and till that you explaine how the *Marginall note* failes in your accuſation you are anſwered.

For the ſecond Argument; The denied *Major* hath beene ſufficiently proved, and ſo doth *Calvin* teſtifie for me, where he ſaith expreſſely that all things are now in ſubjection, though the Subjection ſhall not be perfect till the day of judgement.

Or Phil. 2. 9.

SECT. IX.

I Say here that this expoſition makes *diſparitie* of worſhip betweene the *perſons of the Trinitie*, contrary to *John* 5. 23. therefore

fore it is falſe: you ſay it doth not make diſparitie: the maine evaſion you have here is your conceit, that the Name Ieſus is in it ſelfe the *eſſentiall name of God*; but made *proper* to the Sonne by *diſpenſation*. But if you could prove that *God* in his eſſence was ever called *Jeſus* (which you cannot prove) there might be ſome ſhew for you; but yet this is nothing, for whether it be *proper* to the Sonne in it ſelfe, or by *diſpenſation*, or κατ' ἐξοχὴν, pertaines not to the queſtion, but whether it be proper or no; that it is proper, you cannot deny. Then it will follow that to performe a dutie to a name *properly* denoting the *Sonne*, and not doing the like to the *Fathers proper name, is honouring the Sonne above the Father*: It is a monſtrous errour to ſay that Ieſus is the *eſſentiall name of God*. Hence it will follow, that *God* had his *eſſence* becauſe of mans ſinne; and that if man had not ſinned God had not beene: a moſt *Blaſphemous*, and yet *inevitable conſequence*. Therefore Sir, prove this, or all that you ſay in this Section is but *babling*: for by this conceit you anſwer all.

I have not ſlandered you in ſaying that by the word προσκύνησις you underſtood *a trueneſſe of worſhip*, and not every way an *equall correſpondencie*: you have affirmed it ſundry times, and once at a table, when our maine diſpute was about the word προσκύνησις. In my reply I have not changed the principle, but you have runne your ſelfe into a *contradiction*; for whereas you hold it indifferent to bow at any name of the *Trinity* if wee pleaſe; then you preſently ſay that our not bowing at the name of the Father, nor at the name of the Sonne, nor at the Name of the Holy Ghoſt, but at the name of Ieſus, ſhewes that they being three one to another, but one in themſelves, and that our ſalvation was wrought *equally* by them three, onely terminated in the Son; for by giving toleration above ſpecified you overthrow this demonſtrative end which you ſet downe, and this reaſon is but a Phantaſie of your braine without proofe.

Whereas in my reply to the ſecond anſwer, I affirme that you cannot perſonally bow to *all the perſons* at the name Ieſus: becauſe the diſtinct names of any one perſon doe not perſonally denominate the other perſons; and therefore if you ſay, that you bow perſonally to every perſon at the Name Ieſus, you confound the perſons. You tell me that a *father* is a *father* onely in reſpect of his *ſonne*, and ſo is a *ſonne* in reſpect of the *father*:

ther: but yet though a father hath reference to the ſonne, and a ſonne to the father, yet is not one the other, and what is done to the one, is not done perſonally to the other; as if you bow to the *King* you doe not by the ſame act bow to the *Prince*. And when I ſay, I beleeve in God the Father, I profeſſe my faith in the Sonne eſſentially, and ſo I doe in the Father, when I ſay I beleeve in God the Sonne. In that you ſay that I am a Triformian, for affirming that every perſon is in one Divine eſſence, is but one of *Thomas Bartons* bald Crotchets, for hereby I acknowledge but one divine eſſence to all the Perſons. Divines doe ordinarily ſay ſo. As *Urſinus*, *In una dei Eſſentia; in one eſſence of God three perſons doe ſubſiſt*. *Zanchy* alſo ſhall witnes againſt you, *Tres perſonæ unâ & eadem conſtant eſſentia**. And I muſt tell you Sir, in that you ſay that every *perſon* is honoured alike *perſonally*, at the name Jeſus you overthrow the Text of *Phil.*2.9. for as *the Name there above every Name* (as it is evident) is proper onely to the *ſecond perſon*, becauſe he is onely *Mediatour* and *ſolely incarnate*, ſo the bowing in the Text is due to him alone diſtinctly, and *perſonally*; for by the ſame reaſon if we muſt bow to the *Son* together with the *Father*, and the *Holy Ghoſt* perſonally by this Text, it will follow that they were incarnate, and mediators, and ſhall come to judgement as well as the ſecond *perſon*. To conclude, this anſwer doth fully overthrow that place of *Joh.*5.23. for out of queſtion *our Saviour* intends there a *diſtinction of perſons*, and ſo a diſtinction of the *Sonnes honour*, elſe he ſhould have ſpoken *obſcurely* and to no purpoſe: for if there be not a *diſtinction of worſhip* there required, but that the *Perſon of the* Father muſt be neceſſarily honoured in the *perſon of the Sonne* without diſtinction; then there can be no *compariſon* made betweene the *honour* of the one and the other, and ſo our Saviour ſhould confound his owne rule; for it could not be knowne whether the Sonne be honoured as the Father is honoured, or no.

Catech. p.155.

*De Trinitate l.*8.*c.*6.*p.*358.

* See *Aretius loco* 7. *de Deo*, & *Bucanus, loco* 1. *de Trinitate.*

For my two Arguments in the end, which you call *Syllogiſmes* (though I note neither major, minor, nor concluſion, neither is any bound to reaſon alwayes from direct Syllogiſmes) the one is drawne from the *Premiſes*, in which you ſay there are 4. *Termini* (whereby you wrong me, but indeed *your Syllogiſmes* are nothing elſe, but *equivocations* and *ſophiſtry*) indeed

deed I make two oppoſite inferences in the ſame for brevities ſake, which none but *Cavaliers* will blame. The laſt argument is taken from the *eſſence*, which to pleaſe you ſhall be this *Syllogiſme*.

Every honour of the Sonne equall to the honour of the Father, is ſo to honour the Sonne in the Father as the Father is honoured in the Sonne.

But to honour the Father by bowing at the name of the Son, and not to honour the Son by bowing at the name of the Father, is not ſo to honour the Son in the Father, as the Father is honoured in the Sonne. *Ergo*, This honour is not an equall honour.

SECT. X.

NO marvell if you be not pleaſed with my Argument, ſeeing you are not pleaſed with your owne Syllogiſme which you put in ſtead of mine. My argument would have ſerved a reaſonable man, ſeeing you deſire full Syllogiſmes, I will not be beholding to you, but will reduce the arguments into two Syllogiſmes, ſeeing it cannot be ſo well contained in one.

No unjuſt or cruell command is Gods command. But to command all creatures to bow at the name Jeſus is a cruell and unjuſt command. Ergo, this command is not Gods.

The minor is thus proved.

Every command that enjoynes that to be done by any that have no created power to performe it, is a cruell and unjuſt command. But to command bowing at the Name Jeſus injoyneth that to be done by many of the creatures, that have no created power to performe it. Ergo this is a cruell command, and ſo not Gods.

No reaſonable man that compares your Anſwer to the Argument cannot but ſay but that your Anſwer is extreamely frivolous. Firſt, you make an objection which I told you I meant to prevent, God indeed may require where hee gives no *ſpeciall grace*, but not if he had given no *created power*.

Many things here babled have beene anſwered before, which I now pretermit for brevities ſake.

To my queſtion, how *divels*, and *damned ſoules* ſhall bow at the name *Jeſus*, you ſhuffle in your anſwer moſt pitifully, firſt

you say, *Devills* shall bow, as they confesse: Though they called him Iesus, yet you prove not that they then made a courtsie. I acknowledge the Devills shall tremble; yet that trembling is not that kind of bowiug you understand here; for you make it an act of Religion, or at least a religious ceremony. But you say they shall tremble most of all at the Name *Jesus*, wherein they are conquered: but what meane you by *wherein* here? if you meane *whereby* as a *cause*, as you must so meane, else it is *nonsense*, then you make the *literall name* to *conquer* them, which is *Blasphemy*, and *Idolatry*. No marvaile if such as you be, put all Religion in bowing at the name Jesus, seeing you thinke to conquer the Devils by it. Sir, you call this name an hony name, an humble name, a poore name, Pag. 2. Sect. 2. how shall they tremble rather at this sweet name, this humble name, then at the powerfull and terrible Name Jehovah? It cannot sinke into the braines of them that have but common reason to conceive it. And surely the Devils be fooles as long as they have liberty to walke too, and fro, if ever they come to Church; for in thinking to confound others they confound themselves; for if once they heare *Jesus* named they must fall flat upon their faces for feare, as you say, which confusion they might avoyd if they come not at *devotions*; for if they doe, then woe be to them. And then they might alwayes avoyd trembling; for themselves need not name *Jesus* except they will at any time. How should they bee forced to name it? If their naming Jesus be their torment, they are mad, if they torment themselves when they may choose For my instance in *damned soules*, how they should bow at the Name Jesus in *Hell*, seeing there is no *divine service in Hell*; and these men hold that it is not necessary for any of us, but at such a time; we may say they, if we will, bow at other times, but then we must, because the Church commands it; and seeing there is nothing in hell but blasphemy, and these hold that when men sweare by Jesus, which is nothing so bad as the *Damned blaspheming*; it is no season to bow, you here cannot tell how to answer, but are intangled in the briars; and therefore cry out of blasphemy: but Sir, it is plaine blasphemy in you, as will be proved: but at length you say that bowing and blaspheming will consist. They shall blaspheme, say you, because they cannot choose but bow; what prepostrous foppery is here? On

earth

earth you bow, becauſe you mention Jeſus; in hell they ſhall blaſpheme, becauſe they ſhall bow: ſo it ſeemes that bowing ſhall cauſe the blaſphemy; but I wot, Sir, that they ſhall blaſpheme by the name; they muſt firſt then blaſpheme, how elſe ſhall they bow? Their bowing you make to bee their horrour, and trembling, in lying flat on their faces, and crouching downe under the name Jeſus, as you doe the Devils: if this bee ſo, then ſurely they may eſcape torment if they will. If the name Jeſus torment them, it muſt bee by mentioning, for ſo you underſtand the Text: but what need they mention it? If they doe not mention it *alwayes*, which were abſurditie to grant, then are they not *tormented alwayes*; and if they be not compelled to mention it alwayes, they bee *never compelled to doe it*; if they be not compelled to it, what neede they doe it? and if they neede not doe it, what need they be *tormented*; ſeeing they bee tormented at the Name, as theſe men ſay? Yea if they ſhould mention the name never ſo oft by blaſphemy, in hell, how ſhould they *fulfill the Text*, ſeeing theſe men hold it not neceſſary for us to fulfill the Text, but at publique devotion on the Lords dayes, though we may, ſay they, at other devotions? Seeing then the damned are not bound to Lords dayes, and have no publike devotions, how ſhall they fulfill the Text, and then how ſhall they be damned, ſeeing their fulfilling the Text is by their damnation? Happy damned, if this Doctrine were true: The Pope was wont to deliver the ſoules out of purgatory for mony, but theſe will deliver the damned out of hell for nothing.

SECT. XI.

WHerein *I ſhew that this expoſition will bring the ſervice of God into bondage, in making us to performe it at every mans will, therefore it is a falſe expoſition*; the conſequent I prove from *Gal.*4.1. but you will have that place underſtood of the *Doctrine of Juſtification by the Law*; which though it be one thing, yet to obſerve ceremonies for *conſcience ſake* is another, as appeareth from *Gal.*4.10. *You obſerve dayes, and monthes, and times, and yeares*; and this is your caſe that are an *obſerver of times*, making the

time

time of naming Jesus *especially* holy for *adoration*. The Text is against all *bondage* in worship: if we be free from the bondage of the *ceremoniall commanded worship*, much lesse should we come into bondage by any *new traditions*. Your answer is as much to the purpose as *snow* for *harvest*.

It is not *worth* a reply, it comes not neere the *matter*; you have answered nothing to the *instance*; that every command in Scripture limited to a time binds ordinarily to that time; you cannot produce any exception; and then if this be a command to bow at the Name of Jesus, it must be a command to binde whersoever it sounds: and it is not in the Power of all the world to alter, diminish, or limit any of Gods unlimited commands; therefore I say that your rule of affirmative precepts cannot hold in this place. And this here is not answered, Sect. 5. as you say. Doctor *Page* his instance of Prayer, 1 *Thes.* 5. is taken indefinitely, Pray continually, *i.e.* every day, or at every occasion: but as you understand this Text, the determinate time present is set downe when to bow, but you say it is to bee done at times of confessing, which is in time of Divine Service. But I hope Sir, that Devils and damned in hell doe not observe times of confession, nor divine service, which bow as well as we. But Sir, as you expound the Text, *confession* doth not regulate the *time of bowing*, for *the name Jesus doth that*, and also the time of confession, for bowing and confession are connected by a conjunction copulative, and the season of bowing and confession both are set downe to be at the mentioning of the Name Jesus, so that it will follow if this *interpretation* bee true, whensoever Jesus is named, you must both bow and confesse, and so Jesus being named at every confession will call for bowing, and confession for ever. Therefore this *exposition* drawing with it such an *unavoydable absurdity*, cannot bee *Gods command*. I cannot chuse but smile to see you who before understood this bowing, of the *expresse corporall knees*, now being caught in the Briars here, to unstand it of the *Tongue*. When men abuse the Name, say you, then the Text is fulfilled by reproving or avoyding the company.

The *damned* would thanke you, if when they heare their fellowes blaspheme, you could shew them a way how to avoyd their *company*. And seeing the Text concernes all, by this meanes

meanes you make the *Devills* to reprove ſinne, and the *damned* rebuke their fellowes when they blaſpheme. But how doe you anſwer my inſtance of the third Commmandement? for that binds to inward reverence at *all times and places*, when we mention any of *Gods titles*: If externall reverence at the Name Jeſus be alſo *Gods command*, why ſhould it not doe the like? This is your anſwer, in the very performance of this one duty (marke this in the very performance, that is, (*ipſo facto*) is expreſſed *our performance of the firſt Table, our faithfull acknowledgement of the true God, and humble worſhipping of him: a reverend uſage of his holy name, and ſanctifying his Sabbath in due obedience*; but you might as well have put in the ſecond Table too, and then it would have beene Catholike obedience indeed; but I beleeve the firſt Table was obſerved before this foppery was deviſed, and I know that for the moſt part, the ſtricteſt obſervers of this ceremony are as prophane perſons, as any alive. And then ſurely the Devills and damned doe performe the firſt Table too, for they muſt performe the ſame injunction.

To my laſt inſtance, that this expoſition will draw out bowing, and confeſſion to all *perpetuitie*, that they ſhall never be ended. You anſwer me by Maſter *Pryn*, whom in *ſcorne* you call *my confeſſor*, that makes uncovering the head a dutie in the firſt of *Cor.* 11.4. which will not captivate us: no more doth this (ſay you) but there is great difference betweene reverence in Gods houſe and bowing the knees every time Jeſus is named, from this Text: for this will breed an unavoidable ſlavery; which cannot tend to the *Glory* but diſhonour of *God*: What is objected beſides is anſwered already.

SECT. XII.

MY Argument here is this, *that this expoſition doth eclipſe the glory of Chriſts kingdome, therefore it is falſe*: The antecedent I prove divers wayes. Firſt, the true expoſition ampliſieth Chriſts honour in theſe words, *God gave him a name*, as I inſtance in that parallel place, *Epheſ.* 1.21. and as it is alluded to by the *Type*, *Dan.* 2.48. but the other expoſition doth rather diminiſh Chriſt Glory; for it attributes to him a Name diſtinct from

power and *Authority*. First, you deny that *Ephes.*1.21. is a parallel place, but so you deny the *judgement* of the best *expositours* whodo parallel them together; and that *Dan.*2.48. in the type is also parallel to this place & Text, I appeale to any that are *judicious*, and you have not disproved it but by your deniall. Because I expound Name for *universall dominion*, you tell me, that nothing takes me *but dominion and dignitie, but it is a name of mercy that God most delighteth in, if we will have salvation, say you. Power must be powred forth in mercy*; But what is all this to this Text? any thing shall take me agreeable with it, but the fantasie of your braine shall not take me: you calling Name in this Text a name of mercy, you apply it to the elect onely; but the name here concernes the Devils and reprobates also, your selfe being Judge. Therefore, if you will have this name in it selfe to bee a Name of mercy, you must make Christ to shew mercy to Devils and Reprobates, or else you must deny that they bow. This I say, the Name in the Text is a name of *supreame authoritie* over all, denoting Christ to be King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; but you affirme that the Name Jesus doth include these and all other *glorious titles*. See how wayward you be; before, all the stirre was about *signification*, and now you talke of *inclusion*: but I deny that the name Jesus as a Name, being as you call it, *a Name of powertie and humilitie*, and communicated to others, doth properly include in it the name King of Kings; why according to my stating the question, which I have proved to bee according to the Text, and other correspondent Scriptures, you should lay to my charge, *that I goe about to make the world beleeve that Christ redeemed us by a powerfull hand, but not by price, and that Christs sufferings were to confirme his Doctrine, and not to sanctifie us by his blood*, I know not, except you meane this Text concerneth Christs redeeming us by his blood, and then, as I said, you must make Christ to redeeme the Devils, and then by your *Doctrine*, you must make Christ to suffer againe, and redeeme us when he comes in his most *glorious kingdome*: and so whereas you say I looke like a *Socinian*, certaine I am you looke more like *an Antichristian*. To my second reason you confesse Christ Lord of every creature: and thus you contradict your selfe: for so the subjection must bee of every creature, here implyed by bowing the knee. Seeing then many *crea-*

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tures cannot doe their dutie as you underſtand the Text, in this ſenſe he cannot be Lord of every *creature*. The reſidue is anſwered abundantly before.

To my third reaſon I have ſhewed at large, Sect. 3. that you underſtanding the Text *literally* cannot underſtand it *figuratively*: For my part I deny not the *knee*, but I grant it not in a literall way, and ſhall yeeld it according to the *true meaning of the Text*, but not according to your *fancy*; but here you contradict your ſelfe, for you will have *knees* and *hearts* bow together, therefore you underſtand the Text figuratively: And ſeeing you joyne them together at the Name *Jeſus*, why did you ſever them in conference with me, whether you gave the heart or no I cannot tell, ſure I am, you did not give the knee; if you did give the heart, by your doctrine you ſhould have given the knee, if the inward bowing were then neceſſary, why not the outward? Dr. *Page* making this bowing a ceremony diſtinct from a ſubſtantiall dutie, I affirme makes it but a poore honour, and advancement to Chriſt after his great ſufferings; and if it bee a ceremony to us, it is a ceremony to all other creatures, which you deny, the ſame being injoyned to all. And if, as you ſay, many creatures come not within compaſſe of *Religious worſhip*, it is plaine *Religious worſhip* is not ſimply here injoyned; But if you give the ceremonies, and not the ſubſtance, it is not properly Religious worſhip; And ſo this bowing is but a mocking of Chriſt; and if it be ceremony to us and not to other *creatures*, as you affirmed; I pray, what is it to *Devils* and *Reprobates*? if it be not a *ceremony* to them it is *ſubſtantiall*, it muſt be one of them, and what will follow hence? Thoſe to whom Chriſt is a *deſtroyer* muſt performe the ſubſtance; and you that ſay you bow, becauſe of *ſalvation*, give but a ceremony. You be thankefull peeces indeed for ſuch a great mercy, that the Devils ſhall doe more for *Damnation*, then you for *ſalvation*.

To my fourth reaſon, whereas I ſay, the Text truely underſtood enjoyns the bowing to *all times and places*, continually, but the other makes it to be done but one day of the weeke ordinarily; and then alſo but now and then. In your anſwer there is a manifeſt contradiction, for firſt you ſay, *The Text enjoynes it not to all times and places*, which indeed is no better then blaſphemy, and then you preſently ſay *the whole man ought ever to ſubmit to*

Christ: how can this agree together? For if this continuall submission be grounded upon the Text, then I pray, how doe you limit it the mention of the name Jesus, when also no mention of the Name doth binde you to bow, but on Lords dayes? I would faine know of you whether *Devils* by the Text be not alwayes subject to Christ, or onely then when Jesus is named. If their *subjection* be alwayes to be done; then it is false to tie it to the name onely. If at the name onely, as it must be so, seeing you apply it so to us, see then what will *necessarily follow*. If the *Devils* be not alwayes subject to Christ by this Text, then hath not Christ *Authoritie and power* over them *continually*; for Christs authoritie, and the Creatures subjection are relatives. It will follow then that so long as they be not subject, they bee Lords. There is but one Lord, and Christ is hee; but Satan strives to be Lord, and certainely, if Christ should ever cease to be Lord, *Satan* gaines it; and as long as he is not in *subjection* he is *Lord*: hee must be Lord or in subjection, he cannot be nothing at all, and in no relation: see then the whole consequence of this Doctrine; the Devill shall be Lord all the weeke, and he shall not need to bow but the *Lords dayes*, for then onely we are bound to bow say they, (except they will have the devils to doe more service then wee) but wee need not then till Jesus be named. So it follows that *Satan* shall be Lord all our time, and *Christ* shal be Lord but two or three minutes in a week, is not this sound Doctrine? and then the *Devils* must be tied to come to Church; for if they be not tied they are *fooles* to come thither; to be subject with horrour, when they might bee at their owne *libertie*; or else they must set up a Church of their owne, and choose a *Priest* to say *Service*; or else upon these mens grounds how shall they ever be subject at all? For if the dutie of the *Text*, as these men say, be not seasonable but in times of *devotion*, then are not *Devils* capable of *subjection* at all, except they will make them *religious* and *devout*; well then, if the Devils must bow, but when these men doe; it will follow that when *Satan* is not over-ruled he will rule; when he is not in subjection, hee will command; no marvaile then if these men generally live such *scandalous lives*, for would not you have their lives agree with their doctrine? They teach it, they make Satan *Lord* over them, to rule them all the weeke; but Christ shall

ſhall be their Lord but two or three minutes on the Lords day; yea they teach this doctrine in reſpect of *themſelves*, for if the *bowing of the knee*, let them take *ſoule-knees* too if they will, be limited *to the naming of Jeſus*, then by this Text they are not bound to bow either body or ſoule at any other time *beſides*. Chriſt indeed ſhould be a *proper King* by this Doctrine to have command of his *ſubjects* a fit or two on the *Lords day*, and all their time elſe to be at their *owne command*, and at the command of his *inner enemy*.

To my fift proofe, when I ſay, *this doctrine depriveth Chriſt of his true ſubjects, and forceth upon him the members of Antichriſt*, you anſwer how can this be? can any plucke his out of his hands? No Sir, it cannot be, but you teach it, for ſeeing you damne all to hell, that will not obſerve your *command*; by this meanes you damne to hell the *French Churches*, the *Scotiſh*, the *Netherland Churches*, and all other *Churches* and *Perſons* whatſoever that obey you not: and I hope Sir, *Churches* that muſt be *damned* are not *true Churches*; and *hellhounds* are not *Chriſts faithfull ſubjects*: yea you will have none to be ſaved but your owne *faction*: But I ſuppoſe that if ſome *Pagan* ſhould converſe a while in *England*, and ſhould ſee the *deportment* of theſe *Cringers*, that pretend they practiſe it for *conſcience ſake*, and ſhould compare them with thoſe that for conſcience ſake refuſe it, that like the *American ſavage*, whom a Fryer came to inſtruct at his death, if he ſhould be told that theſe cringers goe to heaven, and the other to hell, would chooſe to goe to hell with theſe, then to heaven with thoſe cringers.

That none ſhould write againſt your opinion till *T. C.* I ſuppoſe you meane Mr. *Cartright*, is extreamely falſe.

That ancient and moderne Divines agree with you it becomes none but Mr. *Barton*, and ſuch as he is, to affirme: You cannot bring any one *Orthodox Father* ſo to underſtand the Text. And for Moderne Divines, generally all Expoſitors that are *Proteſtants* write againſt you: Biſhop *Andrewes* was the firſt Proteſtant Divine that ever made it a dutie of the text, and the beſt learned and pious in England have beene and are generally *againſt it*. And though perhaps ſome very learned men might through the *iniquity of the times* yeeld to the practiſe of it, yet I ſuppoſe few in their *judgement* held it by the Text.

To my laſt reaſon, *that it depriveth Chriſt of his Glory at the day of judgement*; ſeeing, firſt, it puts no difference betweene Chriſts kingdome *inchoate*, and *made perfect*. And ſecondly, becauſe it will make the full ſubjection of every creature to conſiſt onely in a ceremony diſtinct from a ſubſtantiall dutie as Doctor *Page* calls it, and to be the ſole performance at that day, when Chriſt ſhall come to be fully glorified by all his creatures; You ſay nothing to it but what you ſay elſewhere, and I ſay againe, ſo to hold is flat blaſphemy, therefore you have more cauſe to recant for delivering ſuch doctrine, then I for cenſuring it, as it juſtly deſerves; I was never againſt externall reverence, but not limited at the Name Jeſus.

SECT. XIII.

HEre I ſay *that it is not probable that it is a dutie of the Text, ſeeing it is not typified or propheſied in the old Teſtament*; You have not diſproved my *Antecedent*: to ſay that a *truth* may bee in *analogy* though not typified, or propheſied, is nothing to the Queſtion, except you meane ſignified to come to paſſe by the *analogie*. Thoſe places, *Act.* 3. 3. 8. and *Act.* 10. 43. ſpeake of what ſhould come to paſſe in Chriſt; that of *Matth.* 5. 18. ſpeakes of jots and tittles, and I ſhewed you, that ſmall *matters* were foretold in Chriſt: This ſhould have beene much more, if it had beene the *honour of Chriſts Kingdome*. But at length you will finde it in *Type* and *propheſie*, but that in *Gen.* 37. 9. is nothing to your purpoſe, except you could prove that *Joſephs* brethren bowed to their *Brothers name*: neither that of *Exod.* 17. 11. except you can prove that *Moſes* bowed to the *Name Joſhuah*. *Tertullian* doth not ſpeake of the bare literall Name. Thoſe Scriptures which you bring, as *Exod.* 3. 15. *Pſal.* 75. 1. *Pſal.* 111. 9. *Iſay* 45. 23. are to no purpoſe, for becauſe Gods name is Jehovah, his name is neare, his name is holy, all knees muſt bow to Jehovah, that is, to God himſelfe, therefore that all knees muſt bow at or to the Name Jeſus is a ridiculous inconſequent.

SECT.

SECT. XIIII.

HEre I say that if this bowing were a *necessary command of God*, it is probable that there would be some *examples* for it, but there are none. Those places that I have brought for my consequent are weighty; for they concerne examples of faith, and the effects and fruits thereof in obedience; there be examples enough in Scripture of all necessary duties; and though there is no example precisely of *putting off the hat*, yet there is of *externall reverence* in Gods house, which you have sufficiently proved to my hand, and you and your friends hold any *externall reverence* sufficient at the Name Jesus, as putting off the hat, bowing downe the body in stead of the knee, but you cannot bring any example of any *externall reverence* whatsoever, given at the mention of the Name Jesus. That of *Matth.*17.6. though it concerne not the Question was no worship properly, but an *infirmitie of feare*. That which you speake of the *sense* of the *Name* makes not for you; for our *Question* is about the name, and I am sure you never bow to the *sense* without the *Name*. It is strange that if this were a duty by this Text never before *practised*, that it should have no example, or shew of example to *confirme* it. *Calvin in loc.*

I have done with the chiefe Arguments, and now I shall labour to be briefe.

SECT. XV.

AS for your proud scorne, I thinke I have made better use of my reading than your selfe, who wrest it to the destruction of your selfe and others. The Fathers generally understand Name here for the *Name of God*, or the *onely begotten Son of God*, by your owne confession, therefore they are against you. But you sophistically confound these names with the Name Jesus, as if they were all one; if so, why doe you preferre the Name Jesus above God? Dr. *Page* his Query is answered in Sect. 8.

Zanchy understands not Name here for Jesus; therefore you produce him subtilly to deceive the Reader.

Of

See *Willet* on Rom. 14 *Contro.* 9

Of all the Antients within the firſt 700. yeares, none but *Origen*, who is no Orthodox Father underſtands Name above every Name for the Name Jeſus, yet you produce him not, to preferre it above Divine Names, yet he on *Rom.* 14. 11. doth overthrow your literall bowing. Becauſe I ſay from *Hierome*, that the Church fulfils this Text, *by praying to the Father in the Name of Chriſt*: you ſay I muſt inferre that *all creatures* muſt doe ſo too, but you trifle, for the materiall bowing is ſubjection, which is the ſame to all, but the forme and manner of it differs according to the different ſtate of the creature. I doe not underſtand the materiall bowing ſo, as you abſurdly underſtand it of a religious ceremony. You have not made good what I deſired, thoſe Fathers which you bring in your *Apx.* doe but ſet downe the words of the Text, none ſpeakes of corporall bowing at the Name Jeſus mentioned.

SECT. XVI.

YOu have ſuch a faculty in ſtriving againſt the truth, that you care not what you ſay in defenſe of errour. Your ſelfe, and all your friends underſtand the Text of the ſole bowing at the Name Jeſus, which ordinary practiſe confirmes, therefore no other Names may be bowed to, without profaning the name Jeſus, for if all names may be indifferently bowed to, to what purpoſe was this Text? for then God ſhould mocke his Sonne, in advancing him to an honour which he had before. This in effect I ſaid, upon which the whole Section depends; Therefore till you anſwer this, (which you have not done) whatſoever you babble in this Section vaniſheth.

SECT. XVII.

THe Biſhops generally did not give it in charge in Viſitation-Articles, before this Archbiſhops time, how then could the Churchwardens preſent it? and in my time it was generally neglected in the Univerſitie; worthy men in our Church wrote againſt it in their printed allowed works, what ſinceritie was this

to

to let theſe things alone, if it be a dutie of the Text, and to preſſe the other ceremonies? The tale you lay to my charge is not ſo.

SECT. XVIII.

I Wrong not Doctor *Page*, for as he ſtates the queſtion uncertainly, though he ground it on the Text, ſo I appeale to any reader that ſhall diligently peruſe him, whether hee be not content that it be held a thing indifferent. As for my ſelfe, I confeſſe that in former times I held it indifferent, ſo other divine names may have a like reſpect, but I never held it any way from the Text. Juſtific. of bowing, pag. 18. *& alibi.*

PART II.

The firſt Section is cleared in Part 1. Section 4. and 8.

SECT. II.

HEre I will not ſpend Paper, for though you profeſſe to diſcuſſe the truth uprightly, yet the intelligent Reader cannot but miſtruſt that you have gone mainely both againſt your ſcience and conſcience, you prove nothing from Scripture, nor anſwer the Scriptures I have brought, but depart not onely from the *judgement* of your owne Authors in the *Antecedent*, as *Zanchy*, &c. but alſo from the *Queſtion*; for you confound the *Name Jeſus* with the *Perſon*: and whereas I reaſon a *dicto ſecundum quid*, ſpeaking of names conſidered in Chriſt; you reaſon *ad dictum ſimpliciter*, to thoſe names conſidered in themſelves; the difference betweene you and me here is this, whether Chriſt ſuffered moſt in his name Jeſus, by which he was commonly called, or his glorious titles, *God*, *Sonne of God*, &c. which were concealed, and decryed. You ſay in the name Jeſus, I ſay in the other Names, becauſe in reſpect of theſe he ſuffered *pœnam damni*, & *ſenſus*, which in reſpect of the Name Jeſus he did not. I will illuſtrate this by this familiar

miliar instance. *Thomas Barton* for his demerits is now decryed *Parson of Westminston*, yet the *Parson of Westminston* in *simplici termino* suffers not, but I feare me the *Parson of Westminston* considered in Master *Barton* suffers: I would faine know of you Master *Barton*, where you complaine most, of your Name *Thomas*, or of being decryed *Parson of Westminston*; I beleeve it would more cheere you to be cryed up againe *Parson of Westminston*, than to have your name declared *Thomas*, which was never denyed you: Let the judicious Reader apply this.

SECT. III.

HEre I say that this reason, that we must bow at the Name Jesus, because it signifyeth a *Saviour*, is not grounded on the Text. *You answer you are sorry that obedience will not be, except a reason be given.* Sir, I desire to give obedience to any certaine command, though I have no *reason*, but if any shall affirme that God commands upon a *reason*, I desire a proofe of this reason from the word. But you refer me to your *Ans. p.* 18. where you say it is at large, that the Name Jesus is above *all names*, to *God*, to *us*, which you have from *Bishop Andrewes*: and then you adde of your owne, that it is above all *in it selfe*.

It is above all to *God* you say, because no other *Name* had us *men*, and our *salvation* in it. But I hope Sir, that *our Salvation* is not in the *literall name*: but what is this to the *Text*; when name there is of larger extent, then concerning us *men* onely? I pray Sir, is Jesus more to *God* than *Jehovah*, which denotes his glorious excellency in himselfe, his life, and essence? is our Salvation more to God than these? Christ indeed laid downe for us *the life of man* in becomming our *Saviour*, but not the *life of God*. The life of God restored the life of man.

To us you say it is above all, because of the great worke of salvation wrought for us; but it is false, for *Gods glory, and life should be dearer to us than our owne benefit.* You be like an unnaturall

rall childe, that ſo hee can have the *inheritance* hee cares not ſo much for his *fathers life*. But what made Chriſt a *Saviour*, and his death ſo meritorious, but becauſe hee was *Jehovah?* What drawes out our ſalvation to *all eternitie*, but becauſe he is *Jehovah*? If *God* ſhould ceaſe to be *Jehovah*, our *Salvation* would come to an end. Here I will bring your owne witneſſe, * *Zanchy*, a- Quicquid efficit
'gainſt you. *Quid hoc nominis* יהוה *uſu præſtantius, &c.* what is tale, deſt mag.s
'more excellent than this uſe of the Name Jehovah? what can be tale.
'imagined, or invented more available for our ſalvation, and * De natura dei
'the comfort of our ſoules? c.13.p.40.

In that you ſay that Jeſus in it ſelfe is above the Name of God, If the Name be
becauſe you prove nothing from Scripture, but exceede in blaſ- above God,
phemy all that ever wrote before you, I will not defile my ſelfe then ſurely the
with ſuch ſtuffe: onely this I ſay, that it is *infinitely* abſurd to perſon muſt
hold, that any worke of *God*, yea take all his workes together, be above God.
can be greater than *Gods life*; for if hee ſhould demoliſh all his *workes*, he could worke againe, but if he ſhould ceaſe to be, hee can worke no more. Therefore to affirme that to prophane the Name *Jeſus* is a greater ſinne than to prophane the Name *God*, is but a blaſphemous aſſertion of a *Popiſh Author* owned by his *Pupill Barton*.

As for my *Argument*, if the Name Jeſus be above every Name of God, it will make the *ſecond Perſon* above the other *Perſons*, becauſe his maine anſwer is his conceit without proofe that *Jeſus* is the *eſſentiall name of God*, and made proper by diſpenſation, it being diſproved Part 1. Sect. 9. I leave it, onely this I will I ſay of it, if the other Perſons have made the *name of the eſſence* proper, it will follow that they have made the *eſſence it ſelfe* proper, then none ſhould be God, but the ſecond Perſon onely; for as Names are, ſaith he, ſo are the vertues to be eſteemed. Arm. p. 15.

As for Biſhop *Andrewes* as he is to be underſtood, he plainely Sermon Phil. 2
contradicts himſelfe, and I pray how can hee affirme, that the *Perſon of Chriſt* is gone from us; when in the ſame place he ſaith, that *Chriſts body and ſoule*, and thoſe not without his *Deity*, are really preſent in the *Sacrament*? The perſon of Chriſt may bee ſaid to live, and dwell among his *Saints* though not *perſonally*, yet in and through his *Spirit*, *per κτιστην ἐνοικησιν*.

Laſt of all, becauſe I thus reply to the anſwer of thoſe which

ſay that *Jeſus is the Name of the three Perſons, and ſo by bowing at this Name they honour all alike*; that if Jeſus be the Name of the *three Perſons*, then cannot it be the Name above every Name in the Text as they ſay, becauſe that name is onely proper to the ſecond Perſon; becauſe he onely was incarnate, and Mediator, and God gave him that name after his humiliation. You not knowing how to ſhuffle up a faire anſwer, in a ſcurrilous way, lay *Arianiſme* to my charge, and tell me that I am put to a ſhift, and that pitifully, becauſe ſay you by this reply I ſhake downe my owne pillar, Part 1. Sect. 1. for ſo I muſt deny (you ſay) what I there affirmed, that ſupereminent power and glory is the Name above every Name, becauſe the three Perſons have ſupereminent power and glory, or elſe I muſt affirme that the Name Jeſus is proper to the ſecond Perſon by diſpenſation, as alſo *in my owne Tenet*, ſupereminent power and glory. But Sir it is you that ſhift and not I, for ſupereminent power and glory, which is eſſentiall and ſo common to every perſon in Trinity, is not here the Name above every Name, but that ſupereminent power and glory, which is the advancement, and honour of Chriſt Mediator, God and Man. It is impoſſible that the eſſentiall Name of God can be made proper, unleſſe the eſſence it ſelfe be made proper. Therefore your conceit of a proprietie by diſpenſation is frivolous. If the Name Jeſus bee (as you ſay) eſſentiall, it cannot be proper to the ſecond Perſon; and if proper, it cannot be eſſentiall. The Name above every Name, which I have proved is ſupereminent power and glory, is given to Chriſt as Mediatour, and therefore it is not eſſentiall in him as a Perſon of the Trinitie; therefore my pillar ſtands as firme as ever it did, and you ſhew your ſelfe but a trifler in this Reply.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

HEre you doe uncharitably wreſt my words, for I doe not ſay, that no Name hath any excellency for *ſignification ſake*, or that the Name *Jeſus* hath no *preheminence* at all for the ſenſe of it, but that it is not above *every Name* in the *Text*: and therefore to be bowed to becauſe it ſignifieth a *Saviour*.

I ſay it againe, diſprove it if you can. By this reaſon I ſaid we ſhould rather bow at the Name *Chriſt*, which doth more particularly, and expreſſely denote our *ſalvation* than the Name *Jeſus*, as *Urſin* declares; denoting his *three offices* by which hee *ſaves* us; You anſwer *Chriſt is not a Name but title of honour*, but if it be not a *Name* I know not how to judge of things, hee being more often called by that Name ſince the *Aſcenſion* than *Jeſus*. But being a title of honour, *titles of honour* are more *excellent* than *proper Names*. But ſee how this Sophiſter immediatly forgets himſelfe, for preſently he calls it the Name of *Chriſts humanitie*; then belike the *title* of the *humanitie* is a *title of honour*, and *Jeſus* the title of the *Deity*, a *poore* and *humble name*, as he elſewhere calls it. But what is his *reaſon* that *Chriſt* is the name of the humanitie? *viz.* becauſe it ſignifieth *annointed*, and God cannot be *annointed*; true, God in his *eſſence* ſimply conſidered cannot be *annointed*. But Chriſt *God* and *Man* was annointed to be our *Mediatour*, as annointing ſignifieth his deſignation to that *office*; This I ſaid, that if the ſenſe of our ſalvation ſhould make us bow, the *ſenſe* of it, and the *manner how it is wrought* is *more clearely* ſet out to us in the Name *Chriſt* than *Jeſus*, which Name I affirme doth alſo *more fully* ſet out the Perſon: for Jeſus denotes onely a *Saviour*, but Chriſt ſheweth who and what he is, *viz.* the *promiſed Meſſias*, *a Prieſt*, *a Prophet*, *and King*: Yea it doth more properly denote the Perſon, for it denotes none but he, but Jeſus may denote ſome body elſe.

This is Biſhop *Andrewes* his reaſon.

SECT.

SECT. V.

VVHat is ſaid here, is ſufficiently anſwered in Part 1. Sect. 1. & 8. Here he wreſteth my words, for when I ſay the Name Jeſus concernes the elect onely, he ſaith I ſay the bowing concernes the Elect onely.

Doctor *Page* his anſwer is nothing to the purpoſe, for if the Devils bow onely becauſe Jeſus is a Saviour to others, then doe they not bow by a reaſon proper to themſelves, which is contrary to the Text, for the reaſon there is common to all, *viz. becauſe Chriſt hath dominion and power over all*, which is ſo plaine that you are impudent to deny it.

Though all ſhall not fare alike at the day of judgement, yet ſhall all appeare alike: ſo the ſubjection materially is the ſame to all, though formally it differ.

SECT. VI.

HEre I ſay, to bow at the Name Jeſus onely, which Name ſignifieth our Saviour, and not at Jehovah, which ſignifieth Gods eſſentiall glory, is a preferring our ſalvation above Gods glory, therefore it is a wicked Tenet. You firſt deny the Antecedent, and ſay your bowing is ſpecified to bee to the glory of the Father, but you muſt firſt prove it from the Text. Then you ſay we are Simonians, Saturnians, if wee thinke to ſerve God for nothing: O horrible blaſphemy! is Jeſus all, and Jehovah nothing? Is God to us ſomething, and God in his glorious nature nothing? is it all to ſerve God for our ſelves, and nothing to ſerve him for himſelfe? When I alleadge *Deut.* 28. 58. to prove that Jehovah is Gods glorious name, you abſurdly wreſt me contrary to my meaning, that I ſhould ſay wee muſt ſerve God

God more for feare than love, which is nothing agreeable to my words.

Againe you impudently wrong mee, in laying to my charge that I make Ieſus and Iehovah not the ſame God, it is your ſelfe that doe it, in making Ieſus greater than Iehovah, I onely diſtinguiſh the names, (which you here confound for your owne ends) and ſhew that Ieſus ſheweth what God is to us; Iehovah, what he is in himſelfe; therefore to worſhip him as Ieſus, and not as Iehovah, is abominable. There is nothing elſe worth replying to, being cleared elſe-where; onely I thinke good to vindicate my ſelfe from one clamorous imputation. See Sect. 3.

When I ſay, if we muſt bow onely in reſpect of ſalvation, Devils, and Reprobates ſhould be more ſincere in their ſervice then we, who muſt bow to Chriſt as he is their Lord, but wee onely by the opinion of theſe men as hee is our Saviour; here hee bleſſeth himſelfe as if ſome *ſpirit* appeared before him. But wee will ſee, whether we can allay this ſpirit, or lay him in his right place. He and his friends underſtand the proper dutie of the Text *in it ſelfe* conſidered to be *a Religious ceremony* to bee performed in holy times, and places. And himſelfe holds that all Angels and men, juſt and unjuſt, are bound to performe voluntary obedience to glory. If the Devils there be ſo bound, if they performe religious acts, and obſerve holy times (for the bowing materially is the ſame for all) gratis, when they can looke for nothing but damnation; to require good for evill being a note of perfection, much more to requite good for ſo great an evill as utter deſtruction: they ſhould attaine to an unmatchable perfection. Therefore Sir weepe not for me, but for your ſelfe, it is your owne doctrine, I would your hand might tremble in mercy, and your eyes drop for the monſtrous blaſphemies which you have let fall in your booke. Arm. p. 53, 54.

SECT. VII.

HEre I ſay that Doctor *Page* his reaſon is not good, that we ſhould bow at the Name Jeſus, becauſe above all other Names it minds us of Chriſts death. Firſt, I denyed the antecedent, affirming that many called *God their Saviour* in the old Teſtament, yet few ſuppoſed that God ſhould die, but you ſay very few, which I ſay not, I deny not that it was knowne, but it was not commonly and clearely knowne, as appeares by Chriſts Diſciples, who though they called him Jeſus, yet would hardly be perſwaded that redemption ſhould bee by his blood, though they were often told of it, *Joh.* 20. 9. Therefore *Jeſus* is not the chiefeſt name ſignifying *death*; but the Name *Chriſt* is rather, becauſe it denotes him to be a Prieſt, and ſuch a Prieſt, that did alſo ſhed his owne blood, and therefore I ſay againe, God could have beene a *Jeſus* if he had would, without becomming a Prieſt, he could not indeed, becauſe hee would not, but he never could have beene a Prieſt unleſſe hee had beene a Jeſus. You have not overthrowne the conſequent, for firſt, how have you proved by the Scriptures that the Name of Chriſts death is the Name of his Glory? Secondly, I goe not againſt the order of the Text, when I ſay the Name above every Name leades us to Chriſts *glory*, and not to his *ſufferings*. I deny not that *God* in the *Text* proceeds from humility to glory, yet is it abſurd to confound Chriſts humiliation with his exaltation; and the Name of the one with the Name of the other; *The Name Jeſus lookes to hell ſaith Doctor Page*, but we muſt looke for Chriſt in heaven. Thirdly, neither have I changed the *Queſtion*, but it is you rather; for doe you bow onely to the Name, becauſe you ſay (but prove it not) that it is a ſuffering Name? doe you not bow alſo to the ſenſe of the Name, becauſe it ſignifieth *ſalvation by dying*? This you ſtand upon continually, therefore the *ignorantia elenchi* is in your ſelfe. My marginall note ſtands firme againſt you; for ſeeing you ſay you bow in the ſenſe of the Name Jeſus, the ſenſe of the Name is as well conveighed to the underſtanding by ſight as by hearing: your ſelfe make it all one as I have noted, Part 1. Sect. 8.

Quicquid convenit tali quatenus tali, convenit omni tali.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

HEre I affirme, *that it is no good reaſon to bow at the Name Jeſus becauſe the fulneſſe of the God-head dwells in Chriſt bodily*, Col. 2. 9. That which you reply to the deniall of the conſequence is nothing, but what hath been ſufficiently cleared before. And that which you alleadge from *Tertullian* is againſt you. For if the Names *Jeſus* and *Chriſt* do one of them imply the other, why doe you make ſuch a difference? though it be your direct opinion by the humanity to climbe up to the glorious Trinitie, which I deny not; yet this will not prove the conſequence: and I verily beleeve, that God will accept our worſhip in, and by the Name Chriſt, as well as Jeſus; I ſay it is no Reaſon to affirme that we ſhould bow at the Name Jeſus rather than Chriſt, becauſe ſome ſay, that *Jeſus* is the Name of the *Perſon*, Chriſt of the *office*, becauſe Chriſt by his office brings us the Father.

Jeſus doth denote his office as well as his Perſon, though more ſummarily his office; Chriſt denotes his Perſon as well as his office, though more clearely his office then the Name Jeſus doth; yea it denotes his perſon more properly and certainly then the name Jeſus, which denotes ſome body elſe, but Chriſt none but he. There is nothing elſe worth anſwering, onely this I ſtand ſtill to juſtifie, that upon the foregoing reaſon if we muſt bow to the Father at the mention of the Name Jeſus onely, we muſt as well pray to the Father by mentioning of that Name onely; neither have you diſproved it, for though Prayer bee one dutie and bowing another, yet are they both parts of worſhip, and lip-prayer is no more ſubſtantiall than outward bowing, the excellency of both is in the heart.

For the concluſive Argument, the heads are but barely denyed without proofe, and what I affirmed is ſufficiently juſtified in the premiſes, and confirmed in this reply, and ſo I leave it. But Sir I muſt tell you, that whereas you lay to my charge that I had others aſſiſtance in my booke; It is falſe, I am not beholding to any for two words, either in informing or reforming otherwiſe than what light I have demonſtrated to have

received from ſuch Authors as I have read, neither have I deſired any aſſiſtance in this reply; Therefore none of my brethren are to ſhare with mee in any infirmitie whatſoever in either Tract.

An Advertiſement to Maſter *Barton.*

IF Maſter *Barton* doe ever intend to make another anſwer, I deſire thus much of him; that hee reconcile thoſe contradictions that I have noted in his infallible witneſſe Doctor *Page*, and in himſelfe, and eſpecially hee muſt cleare Section 4. Part 1. where hee hath ſhamefully wreſted Scriptures to maintaine his errour; hee muſt bring plaine Scriptures to ſhew that *In the name* doth any where ſignifie *at the mention of the Name* in that ſenſe as he takes it in *Phil.*2.9. viz. to bee a ſigne how to know when to doe ſomething, or to performe ſome worſhip. And above all hee muſt cleare the eighth Section of the firſt part, and prove by evident Scriptures (for thoſe Scriptures which he hath brought he hath fearefully abuſed) ſo farre forth as to leave it without doubt, (ſeeing hee makes it a point of Faith and Salvation,) that bowing at the Name Jeſus is the bowing to bee performed at the day of Judgement by all rationall creatures, and to be done by the Saints

Saints to all perpetuitie after the day of judgement, and anſwer my Reaſons, and Scriptures to the contrary. When he hath done this I will write againe, and ſhew what my opinion is; If this be not done, all that hee hath written firſt and laſt in the queſtion by his owne confeſſion is nothing worth; and I reſolve never to trouble my more neceſſary ſtudies with any more replies; for I acknowledge all that is beſides Gods word, be there never ſo much ſhew of learning, to be no better then chaffe and ſtubble, dung and excrements. And if he or any one elſe for him ſhall truely performe what I here require of him, I will promiſe him a priviledge beyond other men, hee ſhall bee fed with Pheaſants milke.

FINIS.

Errata.

PAge 3. l. 26 in the Margin blot out 6. p. 5. l. 16 read ſcope of the Text, p. 6. l. 36 r. Biſhop *Babington*, p. 7. l. 17. r here, p. 9. l 7 r. Chriſt, l. 21. r. two or three Authors, p. 10. l. 3. r commonly called by, l. 27 and 26 r. declaration of the Name Jeſus as you affirme, p. 12. l 35. r. or expreſſely, p 13. l 26 put out (but) l. 28. r. Epheſ. 1. 21. l. 37. r. increated, p. 19. l. 9 r. vertues, p. 21. l 5 r. *Nomen capitur pro profeſſione* ſaith *Calvin* on that place, l 33. r. you produce, p 23. l. 24. in the Margin r. *de tribus*, p. 25 l. 8. r. though perhaps he might, hold it indifferent at the time, p. 26. l 10. r. πάντων, in Heb. 1. 2. p. 26. l. 28. r. here in degree, p. 27. l. 10. r. Iſay 8. 20 and Heb. 11. 1. p. 27. l. 36. put out (firſt) p. 33. 33. r Rev 14. 1. l. 36 r. for ever in heaven, p. 35 l 28. r. are but one, p 36. l. 14. in the Margin r. *loco* 1. *de Deo*, p. 37 l 2. r. cavillers, l. 16. r argument, p. 41. l. 23. r. 1 Cor. 11. 4 p 43 l. 23. r. ceremony, l 26 r affirme, p 45. l 19. r. Act. 3. 18.

In Part 1 Section 5. p. 24. l. 18. ſupply this, what I have ſaid of power and glory ſee Part 1 Sect. 1 p. 13. and part 2 Sect. 3. p. 54. And it is you, and not I, that deny him to be Jeſus, till the reſurrection, for by your expoſition you ſay the Name was then given him, then it will follow expreſſely that the office was then given him.

Swords safer then Halters.
Popish practises against Religion.
Cavaliers Composizions untrusty.
Ominous Presages.

7

Numb. 29.

K. pp. London

CERTAINE INFORMATIONS

From severall parts of the Kingdome, and from other places beyond the Seas, for the better satisfaction of all such who desire to be truly Informed of every weekes Passage.

From the 31. of *July*, to the 7. of *Aug.* 1643.

Monday, July 31.

A Committee of Lords and Commons came from both the Houses of Parliament, on Saturday last in the afternoone, to the *Guildhall* in *London*, where the Liveries of the Companies were assembled at a Common Hall, and there divers speeches were made by the Earle of *Manchester*, Master *John Pym*, & Master *Henry Martyn*; the effect whereof in brief was, to give the Citizens hearty thanks for the care and affection which they had hitherto constantly testified, both with their persons, & purses, for the defence of the Publike Cause of Religion, Lawes and Liberties, against Papists, Irish Rebels, and Delinquents, the now common Enemies of them all. And besides, they gave speciall thanks to the whole City, for their late laborious good service, in suppressing the mischievous and rebellious Insurrection in the County of *Kent*, wishing them with all courage & resolution, to prosecute the maintenance of the just Cause they had undertaken, according to the Poets Exhortation: *Quo pede ingressi sic benè semper eas*, and that now it behoved every able man generally to arm himself and go out, to keep off those that endeavour to destroy them, and all good people in the Kingdom; one of them pathetically, yet wittily concluding, That it was far better and safer for them to go out of the City, with their swords in their hands, to preserve themselves, then with halters about their necks, to submit to the cruell mercy of the Popish, and Irish Cavaliers, or much to this purpose.

Whereunto the Citizens yeelded their assents, by unanimous Acclamations; and then all of them generally requested, that Justice might be done upon the late *London* Conspiratours which yet remain unexecuted. And there was also read, the Deposition of a credible person that had bin lately at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, where he heard a Proclamation published, which invited all men there, to bring in Moneys for the maintenance of the Catholike Cause in *England*, promising repaiment of them at the yeers end, with thanks.

Which true discovery of the Papists certain intentions, to depresse our true Religion, to advance their Romish Errours, Heresies, and Superstitions, may serve to give caution to all incredulous persons, who have been infinitely deluded, and abused, with specious false shewes and promises, that all the late Protestations, Declarations, & Proclamations, which the Cavalier-Councellors have published for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, were but meer Veiles and shadowes to Palliate their mischievous Designes, untill they had gained power & opportunity, fully and really to manifest their purposes, to alter our Religion, from the worship of the True God, to the Adoration of the Pope, Stockes, Stones, Images, and Popish abominable Reliques. And if this truth will not convince Malevolents and Newters in Religion, we shall put them in minde of the Apostles assertion, that God shall send them strong delusion, that they should beleeve a lye, &c. To whose just censure we leave them for such deluded credulity. 2 *Thes.* 2. 11, 12.

It hath been formerly related, that the Earle of *Newcastle*, took Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Lady prisoner at *Bradforth* in Yorkshire, and that since, notwithstanding all the Messages sent unto him by her husband, for her deliverance, he still detaineth her; and will by no meanes release her, which indignity, the Parliament having seriously considered of, have written to the Lord *Fairfax* at *Hull*, willing him to send to the Earl of Newcastle, to require him to free her out of durance, which if he do not at a certain day to be appointed by the Lord *Fairfax*, that then they are resolved, to seize upon the persons of all the Ladies here, whose husbands have taken up Armes against the Parliament and Kingdom, and commit them to safe custodie, untill her Ladiship shall be delivered, and safely sent to her husband.

The French Queene Regent, hath sent a Message to the House of Peeres in *England*, wherein she desireth them to grant Sir *Kenelme Digby* his liberty, and to send him to her, because she desireth to speak with him, which Message, the Lords have communicated to the Honourable Commons, and they are purposed to give him leave to go into *France*, after he hath bin examined upon

upon such Interrogatories, as shall be propounded unto him, by a Committee nominated for that purpose.

Some of the Earle of *Warwicks* ships, took the last week, a Danish ship upon our Northern Coasts, not farre from *Tinmouth* barre, being of three hundred Tun burthen, manned onely with two and twenty men, having never a port-hole open, nor no Ordnance upon her decks, and have brought her up to *London*, where by a Committee of Parliament, she hath been searched, and there is found in her, Drums, Pistols, Arms, and Gunpowder, to a very great quantity,

Out of the Westcountrey it is informed, that the Earl of *Warwick* landed some of his Souldiers and Mariners, at the River of *Exeter*, who took a Town there called *Exmouth*, and while they were busie in pillaging, some Cavaliers made the Countrey people beleeve that forreigne Enemies were landed: whereupon they fired their Beacons, and in great numbers came down upon them, and drove them out of the Town, recovered the Fort again, and with their Ordnance sunke a Frigot or two that was entered the Harbour.

Tuesday August 1.

From *Bristoll* it is Informed, that on the 24 of *July* last, the Kings Nephew, Prince *Rupert* came with his Army before the City, and after refusall to yeeld it up upon his Summons, he assaulted it, but night comming on, little of consequence was effected by him: The next day being Tuesday, the Cavaliers assaulted it again, betweene whom and the defendants, there was a sore fight all that day, and the Cavaliers so far prevailed, that they got one of their Out-works, but were beaten out of it again with great losse, by the pure Valour of the Repellants, which so inraged the assailants, that they continued their fight for the most part of that night. The next day being Wednesday, the Cavaliers renewed their assault again, but with no successe; and on thursday they would have brought on their foot again to assault it, who having had such repulses for the three precedent dayes, could neither for threats nor promises be perswaded to endure any more such hot pieces of service: whereupon their horsmen drawing neer to the works allighted, and most ridiculously offered to storm them with their Carbines and Pistols, which attempt not succeeding, some of the Cavaliers had espied and observed, that one of the Ports had no Ordnance to defend it, which they presently scaled with Ladders, and drove out the Defendants being few in number, and from thence got upon some of the adjacent houses, and with their Muskets much

annoyed that part of the City: whereupon the Cavaliers founded a Parley, and offered Composition if they would yeeld, which was: First, that none of the inhabitants should be wronged or pillaged: Secondly, that the Souldiers should march out onely with their Swords: Thirdly, that the Governour and the Commanders might depart upon their Horses, with their Baggage; Whereupon the Defendants thinking themselves not able to resist any longer, having been so long harried with Alarmes, Watchings, and Skirmishes, yeeled that City and Castle of great importance, for the safety of this Kingdom, and Marched out according to agreement, but the Souldiers were bereaved of their Swords, the Commanders of their Horses, and the Governour had his Sumpter Horse pillaged, contrary to the Pact, as it is reported, and some of the Citizens were immediatly Plundered, and their wives ignominiously abused; such little trust is to be given to the Cavaliers promises and compositions. And now the Enemie hath not onely gotten that strong Westerne Port, but also much Armes, Ordnance, Gunpowder, and many Ships there, whereof some are stout ships, and able to do much mischief if they be not prevented.

From *Derby* they write, that Sir *John Meldrum*, and Serjeant Major *Ireton*, went with their Forces against *Titbury* Castle, upon the borders of *Staffordshire*, where were inclosed the Lord *Chamworth*, Colonell *Hastings*, and other commanders, but they retreated again, after one nights lying before it, and if they had stayed two nights longer, some do suppose, they might have taken it, because the Cavaliers wanted both Bread & Bere for their men, and Water for their Horses, which retreate, upon such fair hopes of gayning that Castle, much grieveth and troubleth the Inhabitants of those parts; but without just cause, for it is since reported, that Sir *John Meldrum* was called off to do an other and better piece of Service, which is the relieving of *Gainesburgh*, for he horsed eight hundred of his Musketiers, and with them brake thorow the *Newarks* Armie that besieged it, and got into the Towne, with the losse of two hundred of his men, but they so payed the *Newarks* Cavalieres, that they had little cause to brag of Sir *Johns* losse.

Wednesday August, 2.

From *Manchester* in *Lancashire* they write, that their parts next *Yorkeshire* have given the Inhabitants of *Skipton* in *Craven*, a great defeate, tooke 14. prisoners in *Clethero* in the moote Hall, slew about 8. or 10. tooke betweene 20. and 30. horses, and as many Muskets, and made the rest of them run away; After that they tooke eleven persons of quality, that were setling the Commission of Array at *Gisburne*: and since, *Bartwick* neere *Thornton*, having

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ing yeilded to *Skipton*, and finding the Taxe which the *Skiptoners* had imposed upon them too great, grew unwilling to pay it, and sent to Major *Eden*, and Captaine *Curro* to come and aide them, who came to them with their forces the next morning, and then came the *Skiptoners* from *Thornton* upon them, whom they beate back from hedge to hedge untill they retired to *Thornton*, where the *Skiptoners* tooke the Church for their shelter, from whence they were beaten out, and then they ran into the Barnes for refuge, and were made to flie out from them to *Thornton* Hall whither the *Manchestrians* pursued them, and there being weary and heated with long Skirmishing, presently comes 200. fresh horse from *Skipton* upon their backes, and set upon them: but God that sends helpe in time of need, sent them in Captaine *Bradell* and Captaine *Ashton* with their Companies; and notwithstanding that Captaine *Bradell* was presently slaine, yet his Souldiers fell upon them, tooke 60 or 80. of their horse, and made the rest flie into *Thornton-Hall*, which place they since tooke, and all their Armes, but gave them their lives, and sent them packing; since which defeate the *Manchestrians* are gone to take in *Skipton* Castle, if God grant them prosperous successe.

His Excellency the Parliaments Lord Generall, is come to *Beaconsfield* in *Buckinghamshire*, with his Army, from whence he hath written to the Parliament, that they would recrute his Army, which is much decayed through the sicknesse and death of his souldiers; Vindicate his honour, which hath beene aspersed by some Malevolents in *London*, to raise jealousies and distractions, and to bring him into the disaffection of the People; and to pay his arreares, which amount to about 50, or 60000, pounds; and that for the future his Army may have constant pay, Which requests, the Parliament having taken into consideration, they have Voted that his army shall be recruted, and are purposed to give him satisfaction in his other desires, as soone as conveniently they can.

Thursday August, 3.

The parliaments Committee that are gone for *Scotland*, were gotten on *Friday* last, as farre as *Yarmouth* in *Norfolke*, having been hitherto detey ned by contrary winds, but it is now supposed that by this time they are gotten into *Scotland*, where they will be welcomed, because they have beene there long expected.

Since the Surrendring of *Bristoll*, it is Reported, that the King hath forbidden the Inhabitants thereof to pay any moneys that they owe to the City of *London*, but they must pay them to such as He hath appointed to receive them, and that He will give them discharges for such debts, which, if it be true, how contrary such Commands are to Gods word, any man may discerne that readeth *Ezek.* 45. 9.

And now it is more fully related, that *Briſtoll* hath beene pilloged, and whereas they had compounded to pay 50000. pounds; Prince *Rupert* hath impoſed 150000, pounds upon them, and they are alſo commanded to maintaine 6000, men in garriſon, and to ſet forth 30. ſhips preſently for the Kings ſervice, whence they may perceive that their cowardly yeilding, hath brought upon themſelves, a ſlaviſh and arbitrary government, and whereas not long ſince they refuſed to lend Sir *William Waller* 10000. pounds, they are now forced to part with greater ſummes, but it may be, as ſeemeth by their eaſie yeilding, they love the Cavaliers better then him, and deſire to be rid of their moneys by force and conſtraint, and then, *Volenti non fit injuria.*

Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* is well and ſafely returned to *London*, he came from *Briſtoll* by Sea to *Portſmouth*, and from thence over land to this City, he was met upon the way with a Troope of Horſe to convoy him, and many Gentlemen and Citizens went out to meete him, and to congratulate his ſafe returne.

His Excellency the Parliaments Lord Generall is come to *Uxbridge*, and the Parliament hath Ordered, that 4000. men ſhall be preſſed to recrut his army, and by an Order of Common Councell in *London*, two Aldermen & foure Commoners are gone to him to aſſure him of the Cities good affection, and to conferre with him about the State of His army, and to helpe to purge it from ſome ill members.

The *Daniſh* ſhip that was lately brought into the River of *Thames*, is now unlading, wherein were Piſtolls, Pikes and Muſketes to the number of 4. or 5000. and a great quantity of Gunpowder, which the King of *Denmarke* had ſent to *Newcaſtle* to aid the Cavaliers.

Friday Auguſt, 4.

From *Norwich* they write, that they now begin to fortifie their Caſtle-Hill, and for that purpoſe they have ſet many men on worke about it, and that the charge thereof is to be defraied by a proportionable rate upon all the Inhabitants.

That about a fortnight ſince, they had a terrible ſtorme of thunder and lightning upon a *Wedneſday* night, the thunder ſounding diſtinctly, as if great peeces of Ordnance had beene ſhot off, and ſuch a vehement ſhowre of raine, that boates might have floated in the ſtreetes, & withall the lightning ſtruck ſo thick and full upon the water, that it made ſome of the watchmen blinde for the time, and that this Tempeſt was ſo furious about a mile and a halfe from *Norwich*, at a place called *Eaton-Wood*, neere a farmers houſe, that abundance of Rookes and Dawes ſitting upon the trees, were ſtricken dead, inſomuch that

that one hundred and eleven of their carcases were found the next morning by the farmers servants, which they gathered up and laid upon an heape, and have beene since viewed by credible persons; some of those fowle had their neckes broken, and others of them had their bones and bodies terribly rent and shattered, and not one drop of blood was to be seene, either upon the ground, the trees, or their carkases, and that which hath made this Accident the more observable is, that not any profitable creature about the farmers house was so much as touched, or had any harme by this furious Tempest, but that it fell onely upon those ravenous and sharking creatures, that are detrimentall to man, and to his profitable labours upon the earth. What this may presage is yet unknown to man but from the inference we may conjecture, that it may menace Gods Judgment upon the plundring and pilaging Cavaliers, who like Rookes and Dawes live now ravenously by the sweate of honest mens browes.

Colonell *Fiennes* since his surrendring of *Bristoll* to the Cavaliers, is come up to London, and was this day to deliver his Reasons to the Honourable House of Commons, why he so soone yeilded it up, without the knowledge or assent of the Parliament.

The Honourable House of Commons have passed an Ordinence, whereby they require the whole Kingdom to rise in defence of Religion, Lawes, Liberties and Properties, and they are framing of a Declaration to be published thorowout the Kingdom, to manifest the urgent necessitie that all men, who desire to be preserved from Slavery, Tyranny, and Poperie, have to rise and stand for their Religion and Liberty.

Saturday August 5.

The Parliament hath Ordered, that all the Cavaliers, who have been brought Prisoners, and are committed into severall places in and about *London*, shall be Shipped, and sent away by Sea, into *Virginia*, *S. Christophers*, *Barbadoes*, and other Forraigne English Plantations, lest if the Cavaliers Army should approach the City, they might by the help of the Malevolents in it, get loose and raise combustions, or else run out and aid those that are the mortall enemies thereof.

From *Stafford* is intermedi that the last week, many of the Cavaliers came from *Dudly* Castle, *Lychfield-Close*, and *Titbury* Castle, where they have been quartered to the annoyance of *Staffordshire*, to relieve ther fellowes that were besieged in *Stafford* Castle, against whom came the Parliaments Forces out of the Towne, to hinder their attempt, but they issued out in such disordered

dered and straggling manner, that they were beaten by the Cavaliers, and driven back into the Towne, with the losse of Captain Livetenant *Prideaux*, and one other of their Commanders, twelve of thier men being also sore wounded: whereupon the Cavaliers way being cleared, they got to the Castle, and relieved it with Men, Armes, Ammunition, and Provisions, which they had no sooner done, but lifting up their eyes, they saw forces marching towards them, and thereupon they presently cryed out, We are undone, away, away, *Brereton* is coming upon us with his Army, and so in a confused manner, they all ran out of the Castle, and left not one man to defend it, but shifted away as fast as they could, so that upon Sir *William Brereton's* arrivall there, he found none to oppose him, for all were fled out; and there he found good food, excellent Beere, Armes and Amunition plenty, and such was the Cavaliers hast to be gone, for fear of him, that they left thier Crucifixes, Beades, and many Popish bookes in English behind them. And it is since Informed, that before Sir *William Brereton* came to *Stafford*, he tooke *Holt* Castle in *Denbighshire* neere to *Wrexham*, and about nine miles from *Chester*.

For newes from beyond the seas, out of *Holland* and *Flanders* they write nothing, because there is no action in either of those places, the States Army lying onely where it did neere *Gaunt*; but out of *France* they write, that the Queene Regent and her Councell, have allowed and confirmed the Protestants in their Priviledges; and licenced them to have Churches, and that many French Souldiers were blowne up in a Bulwarke which they had gotten at *Thionville*, and that it is supposed they have taken the Towne.

This is Licensed and Entred in the Hall booke according to order.

Printed by G. Bishop, *and* R. VVhite.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

INSTRVCTIONS

For the taking the

VOVV

AND

COVENANT

Throughout

ENGLAND.

OXFORD,
Printed by *Leonard Lichfield*, Printer to the University. 1643.

Obſervations upon the Inſtructions for the taking the Vow and Covenant throughout the Kingdome.

Inſtruct. 1. and 2.

THat all Knights and Burgeſſes now in Parliament, doe take ſpeciall care ſpeedily to ſend downe into their ſeverall Counties, a competent number of the copies of the Vow and Covenant, unto the Deputy Lievetenants and Committees of Parliament, in their ſeverall Counties, and require a Certificate from them of the day when they were received, &c. And that the ſaid Deputy Lievtenants and Committees doe within ſix dayes at the utmoſt, diſperſe the ſaid copies unto every Pariſh Church or Chapell in their ſeverall Counties, &c.

Obſer. 1. That theſe Inſtructions are not acknowledged to be made or enjoined by either or both Houſes of Parliament, only in the frontiſpice of the paper, wherein they and the Oath are Printed, wee finde an Order mentioned as made by the Lords and Commons, for the Printing and publiſhing theſe Inſtructions to the whole Kingdome. Which to my apprehenſion imports, that ſome private men, or ſome Parliament men in a private way framed them, and ſo preſented them to the Lords and Commons for their approbation to the printing and publiſhing of them: and that is all the true power and authority they as yet carry in them. But I aſſure you, whoſoever they were that contrived them, they flew very high in their preſumption, to make all the Knights and Burgeſſes now in Parliament, to bee the firſt Officers in that diſpatch. I ſhould thinke that where ſuch as they are required to doe ought, there ſhould be at leaſt a Be it enacted by our Sovereigne Lord the King, with the conſent of the Lords and Commons, &c. pre-

fixed before it, and had the King and the Lords with the consent of some of the Knights and Burgesses imposed such an office upon all Knights and Burgesses in Parliament, it would have gone neere to have beene voted an high breach of their priviledges. It were therefore well worth the knowing, who it is that hath gotten this new Sovereignty over all the Knights and Burgesses now in Parliament.

Obser. 2. That the Knights and Burgesses chosen by the several Counties to keepe off all pressures and burdens from them, are heereby made the prime instruments of laying the forest and heaviest burden on them that ever was laid on them since the burdon of the six Articles. Thus doth God, when any trust in the shadow of brambles, not only suffer those brambles to plucke off their fleeces and teare their skinnes, but oftentimes causeth fire to come out of those brambles to devoure them, and the tallest Cedars of Lebanon that are neere them. Did the Knights and Burgesses of the severall Counties seriously consider, how many soules will be hazarded by taking this oath thus conveied unto them (as some by taking it doubtingly, others by taking it ignorantly, some by taking it presumptuously, others by taking it desperately, and all by taking it sinfully and irreligiously,) they would beware how they had any further hand in this businesse, knowing that they have enough to answer, for what they themselves have sworn, without bringing upon them the guilt of others swearing and forswearing in this dreadfull maner.

Obser. 3. That if any of the Deputy Lievtenants and Committees of Parliament in their severall Counties (such ministers of Justice as were never heard of in any County till this present Parliament) should have so much bowels and compassion towards the soules of poore people, as to desire to give them some relefe against this oath, or some respite to bethink themselves

ſelves better of it, ere it be tendered to them, they cannot affoord any eaſe or time to any ſoule without danger to themſelves. Should a man compare the liberty granted in former times unto others, through whoſe hands oathes were to paſſe, ere they were taken, with the liberty alotted to all thoſe throgh whoſe hands this oath is to paſſe, hee would hardly believe, that the liberty of the Subject is ſo maintained in any reſpect, as is pretended, no not in reſpect of mens conſciences, their moſt precious liberty: nay the liberty and reſpite granted for the tendring and taking of the late Canonicall oath ſo much and ſo juſtly ſpoken againſt, was moſt gracious and conſcientious to what this is.

Inſtruct. 3. *The Miniſters of the ſeverall Churches or Chapels are to give publicke notice upon the firſt Lords day after the receipt of ſuch copies &c. What day the ſaid Vow and Covenant ſhall be taken, the time not to exceed the ſeventh day after ſuch notice.*

Obſer. If the copies come to the Miniſters hands on the Saturday night, hee ſhall have but very ſmall time, till the next day, to conſult with God, the oath, and himſelfe, whether it be lawfull for him to invite his people to make ſuch a covenant or not: much leſſe hath hee any convenient time to fit and prepare his people for ſo ſolemne a buſineſſe. Then if the Miniſter chance to be a forward man in the promoting it, (as there are not a few forward promoters of Parliament Orders, bee they what they will be) hee may appoint the next day after for the taking it; and cannot, if hee would, deferre it above ſeven dayes, (the people muſt not be ſuffered to chew too long upon it, leſt in ſtead of ſwallowing it, they nauſeat or diſtaſt it;) and alas, what reſolution or ſatisfaction in point of conſcience, can poore ſoules, that ſhall ſcruple ought in this Covenant; get within ſo ſhort a ſpace? You know the faſhion of moſt Country people; they will hardly ſpare a day to conſult the Phyſi-

tion in a dangerous diſeaſe, till the market day come, that they may doe that and their other buſineſſe together: and tis to bee feared too many of them will as hardly ſpare a day to conſult the Divine, in this deſperate caſe, till the Lords day come, that they may goe to their Church, and to their Miniſter both at once. Beſides, it may be thoſe Miniſters whoſe judgement they deſire to heare, are impriſoned, or flying up and downe for fear of impriſonment, many miles from them; and ere they can goe or ſend to them, their alotted time will be expired: or it may happen that thoſe Miniſters, or other knowing friends, to whom they addreſſe themſelves neere hand, may bee ſo far from ſatisfying their doubts, that they may cauſe more to ariſe in them: yet take it they muſt within ſo few daies. Their Miniſters themſelves, that have the charge of their ſoules, and muſt be anſwerable ſoule for ſoule, cannot grant them longer time though it were to ſave their ſoules from periſhing.

Inſtruct. 4. and 5. *For feare leſt at the day appointed ſome ſhould ſlip from* [illegible] *dered, That the* [illegible] *of the Pariſh, the* [illegible] *eſiding within th* [illegible] *vided by the Chu* [illegible] *, and every man* [illegible] *taken it with an a* [illegible] *rdens, Sidemen,* [illegible] *leaſt, jointly with* [illegible]

TORN PAGE

O [illegible] *nt that many o* [illegible] *to ſweare them* [illegible] *they promiſe* [illegible] *not to doe?* Alas for them! let one of fifteene or ſixteene years be examined through the ſeverall particulars of this Vow and Covenant, what he knowes of them, hath

hath done in them, or intends to doe concerning them; and who would not take his word, so far as he is able to give an account, without putting him to his oath? When the Oath of Allegiance was by the King and Parliament to be taken by the Subjects, upon the discovery of as great a plot certainly, as this now so much talked of, *viz.* the Powder Treason, as they did not in all that oath require any to sweare that they had no hand in it, so, in requiring them to sweare what they did by way of promise for the future, they thought it fit to require none to take that oath under the age of eighteene yeares, though hee were convict or indicted of or for any recusancy; supposing (as by the Statute in that case appeares) that by that age they ought to know what belonged to so solemne an oath, and being then of a convenient age to have received the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, they concluded they ought to have received it if they had not: but for our younglings in these times (to such maturity of knowledge and judgement are we growne above our fathers) they must be put to take a solemne oath, and enter into a vow and covenant at the age of fifteene, and that such a one as their fathers though of fifty and upwards, do not understand, nor ever heard of the like, for so much as they do understand. And unhappy Ministers, they to whom Christ hath given such speciall charge, as they love him to feed his Sheep and his Lambs, they of all others must, according to those instructions, call to (or stand by as invited, whilest others call) those Sheep and Lambs to swallow down that, which will not onely (like that bitter water, causing the curse in the case of jealousie, too much resembling the present case *Num.* 5.) cause their bodies to rot, but also [illegible] some waters that *David* so sorely complained of *Psal.* 69. enter in unto their souls, and endanger their perishing. *Chrysostome*, as I remember, declames exceedingly against the tendring oaths to the people

tion in a dangerous diſeaſe, till the market day come, that they may doe that and their other buſineſſe together: and tis to bee feared too many of them will as hardly ſpare a day to conſult the Divine, in this deſperate caſe, till the Lords day come, that they may goe to their Church, and to their Miniſter both at once. Beſides, it may be thoſe Miniſters whoſe judgement they deſire to heare, are impriſoned, or flying up and downe for fear of impriſonment, many miles from them; and ere they can goe or ſend to them, their alotted time will be expired: or it may happen that thoſe Miniſters, or other knowing friends, to whom they addreſſe themſelves neere hand, may bee ſo far from ſatisfying their doubts, that they may cauſe more to ariſe in them: yet take it they muſt within ſo few daies. Their Miniſters themſelves, that have the charge of their ſoules, and muſt be anſwerable ſoule for ſoule, cannot grant them longer time though it were to ſave their ſoules from periſhing.

Inſtruct. 4. and 5. *For feare leſt at the day appointed ſome ſhould ſlip from taking this Oath, or ſhuffle it over in the taking: tis Ordered, That the Conſtables in every Pariſh, ſhall bring to the Miniſters of the Pariſh, the names fairely written of all men above the age of fifteene, reſiding within their ſeverall Pariſhes: and a Regiſter Booke is to bee provided by the Churchwardens, wherein the Covenant is to bee faire written, and every mans name or marke, that takes it, ſubſcribed, after he hath taken it with an audible voice, in the preſence of the Miniſters, Churchwardens, Sidemen, and Conſtables of each Pariſh, or two of them, at the leaſt, jointly with the Miniſter.*

Obſer. Poore wretches! muſt the firſt Sacrament that many of them take after their Baptiſme, be a Sacrament to ſweare themſelves up to doe that, which in their Baptiſme they promiſed and vowed not to doe? Alas for them! let one of fifteene or ſixteene years be examined through the ſeverall particulars of this Vow and Covenant, what he knowes of them,

hath

hath done in them, or intends to doe concerning them; and who would not take his word, ſo far as he is able to give an account, without putting him to his oath? When the Oath of Allegiance was by the King and Parliament to be taken by the Subjects, upon the diſcovery of as great a plot certainly, as this now ſo much talked of, *viz.* the Powder Treaſon, as they did not in all that oath require any to ſweare that they had no hand in it, ſo, in requiring them to ſweare what they did by way of promiſe for the future, they thought it fit to require none to take that oath under the age of eighteene yeares, though hee were convict or indicted of or for any recuſancy; ſuppoſing (as by the Statute in that caſe appeares) that by that age they ought to know what belonged to ſo ſolemne an oath, and being then of a convenient age to have received the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, they concluded they ought to have received it if they had not: but for our younglings in theſe times (to ſuch maturity of knowledge and judgement are we growne above our fathers) they muſt be put to take a ſolemne oath, and enter into a vow and covenant at the age of fifteene, and that ſuch a one as their fathers though of fifty and upwards, do not underſtand, nor ever heard of the like, for ſo much as they do underſtand. And unhappy Miniſters, they to whom Chriſt hath given ſuch ſpeciall charge, as they love him to feed his Sheep and his Lambs, they of all others must according to thoſe inſtructions, call to (or ſtand by as invited while ſt others call) thoſe Sheep and Lambs to ſwallow down that, which will not onely (like that bitter water, causing the curſe in the caſe of jealouſie, too much reſembling eſent caſe *Num.* 5.) cauſe their bodies to rot, but alſo e ſome waters that *David* ſo ſorely complained of *Pſal.* 69. enter in unto their ſouls, and endanger their periſhing. *Chryſoſtome*, as I remember, declames exceedingly againſt the tendring oaths to the people

people by Ministers, for that there is so great perill in taking them; but now Ministers must either tender a most perilous oath (to say the least of it) to their people, or runne the perill of the high displeasure of the two Houses of Parliament, whatsoever else betide them. God of his goodnesse stand by his Ministers and encourage them to stand for his Sheepe and his Lambs, that they be not caught in this snare, and not to stand by them, looking on, and helping forward their insnaring.

It is well worthy all Ministers consideration at this time, that the tendring and countenancing this oath is recommended particularly and principally to them, who untill this Parliament were never wont to be called to any such imployment, at least not so generally, as now they are. It may be God suffers this to set before Ministers eyes their late over forwardnesse in imposing a new oath upon their fellow Ministers, and others; and if so, I pray God open their eyes that they may see it; or, which I rather thinke, God is resolved to have Ministers now brought to the test or tryall, whether they of all others love his truth or people entrusted with them, so well, as to dare to be valliant for either: and therefore to prevent all excuse, he will have every Minister, that hath any people committed to him, then to be present when this truth-opposing, soul-hazarding covenant is to be tendred to the people, that so hee may prove their courage, whether like magnanimous *David* keeping his fathers sheep, they will adventure to encounter with a Lion and a Beare, 1 *Sam.* 17. rather then suffer one Lambe to be devoured; or like the slothfull coward in the Proverbs, will not thinke it a fair excuse, to say, There is a Lion without, I shall be slaine, &c. and so sit still or runne away, and leave their whole flocks to the prey and spoyle of cruell beasts ready to devoure. A good shepheard (saith our great Shepheard) will give his life for his sheep, much much more his living,

much

much more his liberty. And never had good shepheard in this Kingdome such an opportunity to shew his goodnesse in adventuring for the safety of his sheep, as at this present; when his very refusing to countenance and assist the destroying of them, may save both them, and himselfe from destruction; for if the Minister refuse to joyne with two of his Parish in the tending of this new oath, all the Parishioners may bee excused from the taking it, till some new order bee made by the two Houses to supply that defect, and by that time God may please to provide some other relieſe. And here I am bold to bee a monitor in particular to those Ministers, who were so laudably courgious in refusing and petitioning against the late Chronicall oath; let them of all others take heed that they do not destroy those consciences now, which they pretended so zealously to preserve then, and with them many thousands more committed to their charge. And for the provision of a Register booke to record every mans name that shall take this oath, me thinks that strictnesse should rather fear many from taking it, then seduce any to it, considering what a dreadfull and horrible record that may prove against the takers when ever the King shall be reestablished in His Throne, which is to be hoped, through Gods mercy to this Nation, will not be long.

Instruct. 6. *In case my residing in the Parish should faile of taking this oath at the first day appointed, the Minister is required to appoint another day speedily after, and the Churchwardens or some other for them are to goe to their houses and give them personall notice, and if they be not at home to leave the notice with some of the house, and if they come not to take it at that time, they may be returned for refusers of it.*

Obser. The starting aside then, or obscuring themselves for a time will advantage but little, only there is one clause in this Instruction which is somewhat favourable to such, and that is the last: That if they come not and take it on the second day appointed, they may be returned for refusers, if the returners

 please.

pleaſe. But I beſeech you, what if any man have a juſt occaſion to abſent himſelfe from his place of reſidence a compleat month together, juſt, and at that time when the oath is to be taken, ſo that notice cannot poſſibly be given him within the time limited by the inſtructions; whether ſhall he be taken for a refuſer or not, and this may chance to be many an honeſt mans caſe, and ſhould be mine, were I not confident of courage enough, through Gods ſtrengthning me, not only to deny the taking this oath, but to profeſſe my deteſtation of it, and to ſuffer what ſoever ſhall be inflicted for making ſuch a profeſſion. In the intrim, I cannot but obſerve what care and paines is taken to gaine proſelites, when tis to make them twofold more the children of hell then they were: who can ſhew when there hath been ſuch care taken to bring men into the Church, who have ſeparated from it, or to bring any that are yet within the Church, to renew their covenant with God in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and to communicate with the congregation in other ſacred, though now deſpiſed Ordinances of God. But with ſuch care and circumſpection doth God ſuffer the tendring this horrid oath to be managed, that he that feareth an oath may bee the better knowne from him that ſweareth.

Inſtruct. 7. *It is Ordered, that the Miniſters and Churchwardens, ſhall within twenty dayes after their receipt of the copies of the Vow and Covenant, make a true certificate of the names of all ſuch within their Pariſhes as doe not take it, unto ſuch perſons as ſhalbe appointed for that purpoſe.*

Obſer. Tis preſumed you ſee that all Miniſters and Churchwardens will certainly take this Oath themſelves, and as certainly betray all their poore Pariſhioners and neighbours, by a Certificat: for otherwiſe they would have provided, that ſome others in every Pariſh ſhould make this Certificate, in caſe theſe

theſe ſhould refuſe or neglect to do it: or perhaps they thought that there are falſe brethren enough in every Pariſh to do that, and to enforme againſt thoſe that ſhall be faulty or ſlacke in proſecuting this or any other of theſe Inſtructions. Indeed in one clauſe of this 7. Inſtruction, they ſeem to doubt ſomewhat of ſome Miniſters forwardneſſe in the buſineſſe, whether they would ſo ſpeed it, as to ſend in the Certificate within the 20. dayes preſcribed, and have made a kinde of proviſo in that caſe, but for the taking the oath, and making a Certificate of thoſe that doe not take it, and obſerving other inſtructions recommended unto them by their order, they would have us beleeve them to be ſuch for piety and juſtice, at leaſt that they themſelves thinke them ſuch, as no Miniſter, now they have purged the Church of ſo many ſcandalous & malignant Miniſters, will once ſcruple them. Here then again, the Miniſters if they dare be ſo honeſt and ſtoot, have another advantage to preſerve their people for a while, and if the Churchwardens ſhould ſend in no certificate at all there is no order as yet, for any to returne their names.

Inſtruct. 8. *That all that doe not take this oath be forthwith diſarmed, &c. but perhaps that is done already, and what then? why if it can be proved by any one, unleſſe that they had in their cuſtody any armes whatſoever, at the time of the making of this covenant, or at any time ſince, which they ſhall not then deliver to thoſe appointed to ſeiſe the ſame, then they ſhall be forthwith committed to priſon without bail or mainpriſe.*

Obſer. Here is an inſtruction with a witneſſe. any one mans teſtimony, though a Knight of the Poſt, or a Gentleman from the whipping poſt, that ſhall but ſay, that I had any thing in my houſe, that he or I know not who elſe, ſhall pleaſe to call Armes (ſuppoſe a birding peece, a ſtonebow, a pikeſtafe, a pitchforke, a bodking, or a ring, eſpecially with a coat of arms

on it) and did not deliver it up to the appointed seisers, shall be of power sufficient to authorise those seisers or any man else, for ought I can see in the instructions to the contrary, to seise upon my person, and clap me into prison without bail or mainprise. Oh the miraculous liberty of the Subject, when not only the Lawes of men are cast off, and laid aside, but the expresse Law of God himselfe is made of none effect through these conditions: that requiring, Deut. 19.15. That one witnesse shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity or for any sinne that he sinneth [but that] at the mouth of two or three witnesses the matter shall be established. Whereas here it is ordained, that any one witnesse rising up against a man, and that neither for any sinne, nor for any iniquity, shall be of validity to deprive any man of that liberty which many a foule crime cannot legally debarre him of. Here is also an admirable device to plunder all Cutlers and Armorers of all their livelyhood at once, and had it beene thought on in time, it might have stopt some of their clamouring for want of their monyes promised them for swords, pistols, and other Armes. And I hope now, Popish Recusants will not take it ill to be disarmed of all their Armes by act of Parliament, when an instruction shall disarme all pious recusants of an impious Covenant. Look to thy selfe O Israel, the Philistimes had once like to have ruined thee with this very tricke, when in the day of battell there was neither sword nor speare found in the hand of any of the people that were with *Saul* and *Ionathan*, 1 Sam. 15. and tis no very hard matter to cut a mans throat when hee hath nothing wherewith to defend himselfe.

Instruct. 9. *That no souldier entertained shall receive any pay from the State, untill they have in the presence of their Commander, and some Minister taken the Vow and Covenant.*

Obser. A most rare antidote against the infectious complaining

ning of the Parliament ſouldiers for want of pay; they muſt now pawne their ſoules, as they have a long time ventured their bodies, and ſwear a little deeper then any Cavaliers dare ſweare ere they get a penny of all their arreere: and when they have ſworne, the ſame Miniſter that encouraged them to take this oath, or tendered it to them, can, and tis likely will upon better grounds aſſure them that after they have taken it, they are obliged thereby to goe on in that ſervice, though they never receive any pay at all. There is not here as you ſee, any hope left for any to evade either the taking this oath or the being throughly tryed and knowne, whether hee will take it or not. And if it he not taken you may deſcry a likelyhood of miſchiefe enough intended to the refuſers, and if it be taken, what woes, what miſeries, what judgements, what torments of ſoules and conſciences, either here, or hereafter, or both the takers thereof will plunge themſelves in, or make themſelves liable unto, no tongue can expreſſe, though there is enough expreſſed in a few words by two of the Prophets, *Malacie* and *Zacharie*, to make any takers of this new oath to tremble at the very reading of it, conſult the words, I beſeech you, *Mal.*3.5. and *Zac.*5.2,3,4.

Into what a ſad condition then, will the impoſing this new Covenant caſt thouſands, and ten thouſands of poore ſoules throughout this miſerable Kingdome? Fear and the pit, and the ſnare (as once the Prophet *Eſay* ſpake) are upon thee, O inhabitant [of this Nation.] He that flyeth from the noiſe of the feare, ſhall fall into pit, and he that commeth up out of the middeſt of the pit ſhall bee taken in the ſnare. If men doe not take this oath the feare of being plundered, impriſoned, and utterly ruined in their eſtates, will ſeiſe upon them, there is the feare; if they do take this oath, the guilt of Gods diſpleaſure againſt rebellion, treaſon, and perjury, that ſwallowes them up, there is the pit: and whether they take it or take it not, they themſelves are taken, there is the ſnare. Now hee that flyeth from the noiſe of that feare, ſo as to ruſh into the new cove-

nant, (as multitudes are likely to doe) he cannot but fall into the pit of Gods displeasure, and if then through Gods mercy, one deep calling upon another, he chance to recover out of that pit by confessing his sin, and humbling his soule for it, and so returne to his former duty towards God, and his Vicegerent, then he is sure to be maligned and persecuted (perhaps more then if he had never taken this oath) by them that persist in their iniquity, and whatsoever he doth, he is sure to be undone. Oh the matchlesse cruelty of this mercilesse Oath. In all former Orders and Ordinances they did but angle for us, as the Prophet complained of some Hab. 1. 15. my meaning is, they caught but here and there one of us; but by this order they intend to catch us all as in a net, and to gather us together as in a drag. All the heavy impositions, taxes, plunderings, rapines, and other grievous oppressions, whereby mens estates have been exhausted, all the lies, slanders, and false accusations, whereby mens good names have been blasted, and all the restraints, imprisonments, and other illegall and unchristian pursutes, wherewith mens bodies have been vexed, are not to be named the same age with this one act of cruelty to mens soules; so much the more cruell because the cruelty is the lesse discernable being maskt with the pretence of Religion: like those poysons that looke fairest, and kill soonest and surest. How fitly may that pious wish of Hilary against Constantius be now taken up by every sufferer in this cause, O that thou, who art the Omnipotent God, Creator of all things, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, wouldst have been pleased to have ordered my age and time, that I might have fulfilled this office of making this my confession of thee and thine only Son (for this truth, which I suffer for, is thine and thy Sons as well as any truth whatsoever) in the times of Nero or Decius; for then my happy fight or combat had beene against such absolute enemies, that no doubt would have been made, but that they were persecutors, which would with tortures, sword and fire compell mee to

deny

deny thee; neither needed we then to do more to approve our ſelves to thee, then to ſuffer death for thee. We Chriſtians were wont to fight openly and boldly againſt thoſe that openly deny thee, and torment and ſlay thoſe that are thine: and if our caſe were ſuch now, thy people would accompany us as their Captaines and leaders, in making the like religious confeſſion with us: but we fight againſt a cloſe deceitfull perſecuter, againſt a fawning enemy, againſt an enemy that doth not openly threaten fire and fagget, but privately kindle hell fire againſt us, that doth not intend to overcome but to domineere, that confeſſeth thy Chriſt that he may deny him, that pretends to procure unity or aſſociation that there may be peace, that ſuppreſſeth Hereſies that there may be no Chriſtians, that honours Prieſts that there may be no Biſhops, &c. And how well may others be admoniſhed in this caſe, as the wiſe man counſelleth his ſon, Proverb. 1. My ſon if ſinners entice thee, conſent thou not. If they ſay, Come with us, let us lay wait for bloud, let us lurke privily for the innocent without cauſe: let us ſwallow them alive as the grave, and whole as thoſe that goe downe into the pit. We ſhall finde all pretious ſubſtance wee ſhall fill our houſes with ſpoyle &c. And high time it is for all honeſt men to take up that prayer of David, Pſal. 17. Here the right, O Lord, attend unto my cry, &c. And till God ſhall heare this prayer, let all wait with patience, & ſuffer with courage; let us neither be over carefull for the things of this life, nor over fearfull to part with them, and life, and all for truth and righteouſneſſe ſake: Let us remember, that when men revile us, and perſecute us, and ſpeake all manner of evill againſt us falſely for Chriſt, then we are bleſſed, and therefore have cauſe to rejoyce, and be exceeding glad, knowing that great is our reward which is in heaven. Let us in a word, not feare them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoul; but let us fear him which is able to deſtroy both ſoule and body in hell. From whence, and from all things leading thereunto, eſpecially from this new Oath, Vow and Covenant, Good Lord deliver us.

Finis.

LO.

Numb. 29.

THE KINGDOMES VVeekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information.

From *Tuesday* the 1. of *August*, to *Tuesday* the 8. of *August*. 1643.

THE great Daniſh prize taken by the Parliaments Ships was made publique by the Inventory taken of the Armes that was in her by foure Parliament men, there being Armes compleat for five thouſand foote, and for five hundred horſe, and alſo five hundred barrels of powder, great ſtore of Match and Lead, beſides one thouſand ☞ *Roundheads*, that is to ſay, a weapon with an Ovell or round top, ſtuck full of ſpikes, and by the Danes ſo called as aforeſaid, being a moſt cruell weapon, beſides five hundred weapons of execution of another ſhape, and new invention, with horneworke at the end of them, which with the reſt were deſigned to Her Majeſty at Newcaſtle, and were taken at the Havens mouth at Newcaſtle;

the Commander that owned the ſame, confeſſeth himſelfe to be a Papiſt, and that theſe Armes were to be delivered at Newcaſtle, being in no ſmall paſſion, the Papiſts in the North were deprived of this ſupply to deſtroy the Proteſtants.

This Ship could not have come more ſeaſonably, conſidering the uſe the Parliament hath of Armes for ſetting forth the new Army intended to march under the Command of Sir *William Waller*. The circumſtance of time in this unexpected ſupply is worth the obſerving: The Malignants (the more ſhame to the Parliament and City to ſuffer it) doe upon the ſurrender of Briſtoll, ſo diſhearten people, as if the Parliament and Kingdome was loſt, and thereby endeavour to perſwade all people not to lift themſelves under the Command of Sir *Will: Waller*; whereby they would bring the Parliament ſo low (there being neere upon three thouſand ſick in my Lord Generals Army, ſo that it cannot move far from London) as not to be able to advance and take the field, to meet the enemies of the King and Kingdome, who would obſcure the Goſpell, which God doth owne, and alſo thoſe that ſtand for it, and thrice happy are they that die in the defence hereof. But the wiſdome of the Parliament hath provided a remedy for theſe Malignants, and have Voted a power to preſſe men, which will light only on the Malignants, for the honeſt and well-affected party are ready of their owne accord to goe out with Sir *William Waller*, and ſuch of the Malignants as ſhall be preſt, and can give ſome good reaſon for their ſtay, upon laying downe three moneths pay, and finding others in their roomes, may be excuſed: The Parliament inflicts not this on the Malignants only, but even on themſelves to go in perſon, or finde men proportionably; And that no man but either in perſon or purſe, muſt goe, or contribute to this worke.

And

And that matters may goe in a more secret and expeditious way then formerly, they have nominated a Counsell of War of fourteen persons, whose instructions are to advise of, and prepare such things, and present them to the Parliament, or the Earle of Essex, as shall most conduce to the present safety of the Kingdome: and while this Army is in raising, my Lord Generalls Army is in recruting: And to satisfie his Excellency therein, two Aldermen and four Councell men are sent unto him, with such an assurance from the City, as also that they have some in hold, that have lately scandalized his Excellency, whom they intend to make severe examples, as they intend to make the Malignants that have possessed many mens wives in London with such fears of the instant approaching of the Cavaliers that they were about to ship their goods for Holland, which hath begotten a good Order to stop all persons and goods (except Merchandize) from going beyond Sea: But whither the Merchandize of Malignants are excepted by that Order I know not, for surely it is fit that in this publique Cause, no private men should Convey away their estates, and leave the publique at stake, and desert the Parliament and others that hazard their lives for the safety and peace of the Kingdom, I dare say they are ashamed, for having a thought to desert the Kingdome.

Admit the Popish Cavaliers were advancing towards the City with thirty thousand men, which is more then they can bring, yet in all humane probability, they are not like to effect their designe on this City. But when as God owns the Cause, though we distrust our selves, yet let us not be diffident of his providence and power, but

like men fearing God doe our endeavours, and *Fiat voluntas Dei*.

The Queene Regent of France, made it her request to the Parliament of England to release Sir *Kenelme Digby*, for that she was not unmindefull of the Protestants there, by granting them Protection, and her Majesty would undertake, he should not returne without leave of the Parliament, which desire of her Majesty the Parliament accordingly granted, and set him at liberty, and Sir *Kenelme Digby* voluntarily made his Protestation in writing, and subscribed with his own hand, that he would not directly, or indirectly, intermedle with any affaires prejudiciall to the Parliament, and is since gone into France, and no doubt he is a man so full of honour, and so highly esteems the word of a Gentleman, that he will not violate his promise for any respect whatsoever.

My Lord *Willoughby* after ten dayes Siege was relieved by Colonell *Cromwell* and Sir *John Meldrum*, but after their returne with the horse to Lincolne, the Earle of *Newcastles* whole Forces came up against the Towne, and begirt it, and with sixteen pieces of Ordnance and two Morter pieces, plaid three dayes and three nights on the Town, doing small hurt, till at last the Granadoes fired some houses, which so terrified the Townsmen, that they bred a distraction amongst the Souldiers, which caused a Parley to be beaten, and conditions of Surrender agreed on, but when my Lord *Willoughby* marched away, they tooke his own horse from under him, and dismounted all the rest of the horse, and tooke away both horse and Armes from the men, and stript and disarmed the foot in a most unworthy manner, dealing most dishonourably herein: And thereby gives the Parliaments Souldiers just cause another

another time to be even with theſe unworthy and faithleſſe men.

Colonell *Pagrave*, Colonell *Hobert*, and other Regiments are marching to *Stamford* to Colonell *Cromwell* to joyne with him to give ſtop to that overſwelling Popiſh Army from marching any neerer the ſix Aſſociated Counties, as alſo if they do beſiege Lincolne, to be at hand to relieve my Lord *Willoughby*: The Lancaſhire men though they could not come to relieve Gainsbrough, yet did their beſt by way of diverſion they entred Yorkſhire, beat up the Quarters of the Popiſh Army at Thorneton in Craven, and tooke a hundred and fifty brave horſe, and four hundred Armes from them, with divers priſoners, and put the reſt to flight, and purſued them to Skipton Caſtle, and gave the Earle of *Cumberland* an Alarme, who would not tell the Earle of *Newcaſtle* he trampled upon his honour by commanding in chiefe in Yorkeſhire, but got out of the way with diſhonour, and fits by it.

For the loſſe of Briſtoll, the late Governour thereof Colonell *Natt*: *Fynes* gives this account to juſtifie himſelfe in the ſurrendring up thereof, he affirmes that after three dayes aſſault, and the ſlaughter of many hundreds of the enemy (amongſt whom were Colonell Sir *Richard Slaning*, Colonell *Lunsford* the younger, and Colonell *Bucke* ſlaine, the Lord *Grandiſon* and Colonell *John Bellaſis*, deſperately wounded) the enemy entred the breach, and wunne the Suburbs, whereupon it was held fit to Parley, and it is true, conditions of Surrender were agreed on, which if they had been performed, was conceived to be more advantagious, then to Retreat from the Town to the Caſtle, which was victualled but for three moneths for eight hundred men, and there were but fifty barrells of

powder in the Caſtle (the Caſtle Commands the whole Town at pleaſure) & divers of the Gent of Somerſet conceived the Surrender on the conditions to be more advantagious, beſides no liklyhood of aid from hence in any time, which reaſons, with other, induced the ſurrender, and hardly any of the conditions were performed on the other ſide. But yet Prince *Rupert* (as the Governour ſaith) was very Noble in doing his endeavour to prevent diſorder, but could not prevaile with the Common Souldier: yet for all this the Governour is to be tryed by a Councell of War.

On *Saturday* the Lords Communicated to the Commons at a Conference ſome Propoſitions of Peace to be preſented to his Majeſtie, much after the nature of the former Propoſitions ſent from the Parliament to the King, at *Oxford*, which were then rejected, ſaving in three of them (1) Whereas it was before, that Ships, Forts, Caſtles, &c. Should be delivered into the hands of ſuch perſons, as the King and Parliament ſhould conclude on: It is in theſe Propoſitions wholly left to the King in truſt; ſo Colonell *Lunsford* may againe command the Tower of *London*, and how ſafe or pleaſing that will be to the City they know beſt (2) Whereas a Bill of Aſſembly of Divines (therein named) for ſetling of Religion, was in one of the former Propoſitions to be paſt, (who are ſince met by Ordinance of Parliament) It is now propounded, ſuch an Aſſembly of Divines to ſettle Religion as his Majeſty ſhall approve of (3) A new Propoſition of Re-admittance of Members that have been put out of each Houſes *meerely* for adhering to his Majeſty, with a *Salvo* to the Priviledge of Parliament: Theſe Propoſitions being taken into debate by the Commons; It is ſaid they all agreed to ſend propoſitions, none gainſaying it (ſo greedy are they of Peace) But not at this time, nor theſe Propoſitions ſo ſent downe, for that their old Army is not yet Recruted, nor their new Army Leavied (which the entring into the Propoſitions may much retard) And then to preſent Propoſitions before they be in a poſture to defend themſelves, if denied, would be an Action neither of Wiſdome, nor ſafety: And therefore the Commons

Commons are propounding matters for their safety, to goe hand in hand with the Propositions; and if the Commons agree with them in Propositions, that likewise the Lords give that assurance to the Commons, that if they be denyed, that they then will be unalterably theirs and not Recede, but proceed vigorously and joyne with the Commons to the utmost against these Popish Armies: It is objected by some that the entring into Propositions at this time, will give an interuption to the Scots coming to our Assistance, not knowing whether this Treaty may not conclude a peace, which if it hold as long as the last did, and so many delatory answers be now given as was then at *Oxford* (as any man that reads the Articles may perceive there then was) This Summer will be spent before it be knowne, whether a Peace, or War, and if no peace (as there is no likelyhood of it) That the Papists (the prevalent party in the Army) will lay downe Armes till they and their brethren, the Rebells in *Ireland* have conditions sutable to the Maximes of their Religion, which I am sure are destructive to ours) Then (the Summer being spent) it will be too late for our Brethren the Scots to come in, to whom both houses have sent Commissioners to invite them to our Assistance; And (both Kingdomes being involved in one danger) how to answer this objection will require the wisdom of the Parliament; if differences could be composed and ended without their Assistance, it were a happy thing: But otherwise rather then our Religion and Liberty (which the Papists have from time to time by Plots and other devices endeavoured to destroy, and never more likely to doe it then now, when so many thousands of them, besides Irish, are now in Armes, besides the aide they expect from the Rebells in Ireland, as soone as the peace is concluded of with them by Collonell *Taffe* in the South of Ireland, and should have beene in the North of Ireland by the Earle of *Antrim* as he confesseth) should be trampled on by the Papists, and these Irish Rebells; let the Scots, or any other Nation that are Protestants, come in and possesse part of the Land for a time, which though it may prove prejudiciall to some for the present, yet in the end (if the Gospell may flourish by that meanes, the preservation of which is the only cause of their Invitation) (which is now indeavoured to be kept in obscurity) it will returne ten fold advantange to the present loosers, and an hundred fould to their posterity.

But

But such hath the courage of the house of Commons been upon these Propositions, that the newes while they were in debate of the Propositions, that Dorchester, and Weymouth was surrendred in the West, and Lincolne in the North, yet their hearts dictated unto them that they ought not to deliver up Religion and liberty, because their condition seemed not so good as formerly (for Gods opportunity to relieve such as seek his glory, is most seen in greatest necessity) whereupon they Voted wholly to reject the Propositions (at this time) and to give the Lords reasons for it: for if they should agree to the Lords Propositions, to have Religion settled in such manner as the Divines whom his Maiesty shall approve of, shall propound, what assurance can we haue of any Reformation, when as (in all probability) Bishop *Wren*, Doctor *Cosens*, and such like popish Divines (whom his Maiesty hath formerly so highly esteemed of) may be named to settle the same, and shall we sacrifice our consciences to be at these creatures disposall? I leave it to a free censure. So for outward safety, The Lords would have the Commons of England to rest contented with such Commanders as his Maiesty himselfe shall put into the Forts, Castles, and Ships, he that will not trust the King, as to his own particular, is unworthy; But for the Parliament to trust (when as they have voted his Maiesty to be seduced by wicked Counsels) in the disposall of the strengths of the Kingdome, it would be much wondred at, for life and liberty consists therein, if misimployed; And I appeale to the conscience of any man, if the King can, or will deny the Queen that my Lo: *Digby*, Col. *Taffe*, Col. *Aston*, Papists, and others, great Commanders in the kings Army, and such like Incendiaries of this war, to command the places of strength in this kingdome, and he that desires to see that day, shall never live to see happy dayes, nor thereafter a free borne Englishman.

Now no doubt the Malignants will give out the house of Commons is utterly against peace, to incense people against them, whereas they have only deferred sending propositions to the king, till their Armies be in the field, and in such a posture, as if denyed, they may defend themselves, and cursed be that parliament man, or other, that will defer one minute to seeke peace, with security to religion and liberty, and it is judicially conceived this kingdom would have had cause to mourn for ever, if the Commons had condescended to the two propositions sent downe unto them concerning religion, and the Forts and Castles.

There was this weeke severall scandalous reports of Members of both Houses of Parliament, namely my Lord *Say*, Master *Pym* and others, published by the Malignants, as if they had conveyed beyond Sea, many chests of money to a great value: That the houses had Committed some of these Members to the blacke Rod, and the Tower for the same, that some of these Members had caused Sir *John Hotham* to be kept close, least he should come publiquely to the Parliament to accuse some of them, and divers of the Malignants reported, that Sir *John Hotham* was poysoned to prevent his Testimony, the Parliament taking into serious consideration these scandalous reports so frequent in the mouthes of the Malignants (who though they see Master *Pym* every day, yet reported he was committed) have named a Committee to receive information against any of the said Members, concerning the said reports, that Justice may be done of them if deserved, and if nothing of the said report, can be made good against them, that then the names of these Malignants in all parts of the Cities of London and Westminster that have so reported the same, may be returned to the Parliament, that persons secured and effects lyable to make satisfaction, as for Sir *John Hotham* and his sonne they are ordered to be brough to the Barre to declare what they have to say: Now if the Parliament doth not make most severe examples of a great number of these Malignants, for these Reports (which no doubt will prove false) they will be justly served if they report ten times as bad next weeke; It is a shame that the Parliament and City, even under their noses, should suffer such aspersions cast on them go unpunished; If in Oxford a man should but speake favourably of any belonging to the Parliament much more to scandalize the Royall Army or any Commander in Oxford, it would go neer to cost him his life.

This is licensed and entred into the Hall booke. Printed by G.B. and R.W.

MERCVRIVS AVLICVS

Communicating the intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the reſt of the KINGDOME.

The thirteth Weeke.

SUNDAY. *July* 23.

IT was advertiſed this day, that certaine of his Majeſties forces, being in their march towards *Briſtol*, had taken *Malmesbury from the Rebels* The Town had been abandoned by his Majeſty and all the Garriſon and Ordnance removed thence by his eſpeciall command, at ſuch time as the Earle of *Eſſex* had beleagured *Reading*: and not poſſeſſed by the *Rebels*, till that of late it was thought fit by ſome of their principall leaders to put a Garriſon of 80 horſe and 400 Foot into it, with ſome 9. peeces of Cannon, for the better bridling of the Country, and awing of the parts adjoyning, whom they plagued ſufficiently. But notice being given to ſome of his Majeſties Commanders quartered thereabouts, where the Guards were weakeſt, and the Towne moſt fit for an aſſaule; they fell upon it in the night, (about two nights ſince) and having forced an eaſie paſſage through the careleſſe Guards, made themſelves maſters of the place; as alſo of the Cannon, Armes, and Ammunition; ſome of the Souldiers being killed, and the moſt part taken; the reſt providing for themſelves

ſelves by ſome cloſe conveyances, under the covert of the night.

It was alſo ſignified, that the new aſſembly had done little all this while in the explaining of the ten firſt Articles, (which was the worke they had in hand) moſt of their time being ſpent in debating the great queſtion of our Saviour Chriſt's *deſcent into Hell*. Concerning which, when they could not agree amongſt themſelves, (as we expected that they ſhould) Maſter *Selden* (who is one of the *Lay-part* of the *Aſſembly*) told them he could not chooſe but wonder, that an Article which had been generally received in the Chriſtian Church 1500 yeares, ſhould now be doubted of: and that if they deſired to be better informed in that particular, they might doe well to make a ſpeciall *Committee*, put Dr *Burges* in the Chaire, and ſend them thither to learne the truth of the matter, and from thence to certifie the ſame to their brethren here.

The Reader is to be advertiſed, that at the inſtance of ſome Honourable Ladies, a Sermon had been preached on Sundayes in the afternoone at *Merton-Colledge* Church, ever ſince the firſt beginning of Lent: but intermitted on Sunday laſt, on a miſconceit that the Church being within the verge of the Queenes Court, it might give ſome offence unto her Majeſty. Which coming to her Majeſties knowledge, ſhe was much offended, and gave order preſently, that the ſaid Sermon ſhould be continued in that Church, as had been accuſtomed; and this day it was preached accordingly. And on the other ſide it was this day certified, that there is a whole Troope of horſe quartered at *Fulham*; in the ſervice of the two houſes of Parliament, being all *Papiſts* by profeſſion, and *Wallons* by nation, who carry their popiſh Prieſts about with them upon all removes, and have the publike exerciſe of their owne Religion whereſoever they come. By which the Reader may perceive the impudence of this lying Faction, who give it out that his Majeſty hath raiſed a *Popiſh* Army to ſuppreſſe the *Proteſtant* Religion; whereas themſelves who cheriſh this rebellion againſt his Majeſty, have whole Troopes of *Papiſts* in their army, and allow all religions except the *Proteſtant*.

Monday,

MONDAY, *July* 24.

This day came out a Proclamation dated *July* 81ª, prohibiting any of His Majeſties Subjects to aſſiſt the *Rebels* with Men, Money, Armes, Victuals, or Intelligence &c. In which His Majeſty putting His Subjects in remembrance of thoſe many warnings which he had given them in His former Proclamations and Declarations, not to be aiding to the horrible Rebellion raiſed againſt Him; and finding notwithſtanding that many of His Subjects are ſo forgetfull of their duties, that in ſteed of aſſiſting Him with their perſons and eſtates (as by the Lawes of the Land they are bound to doe) they have beene aiding to the *Rebels* with their perſonall ſervices, or otherwiſe, by furniſhing them with Horſes, Plate, Money, and Intelligence; and that many of them have beene ſo maliciouſly ſeditious, as to endeavour to ſtop proviſions comming to the reliefe of His Majeſties Souldiers, to murder divers of them as they have paſſed in ſmall numbers, to intercept His Majeſties Pacquets, apprehend His Meſſengers, and thereby furniſh the *Rebels* with intelligence of His Majeſties purpoſes; doth thereupon declare and publiſh to His ſaid Subjects of all conditions, that if they be from henceforth guilty of the like diſloyalties, and ſhall either furniſh the *Rebels* with proviſions, or refuſe to ſupply His Majeſties Armies; if they ſhall intercept His Pacquets, diſturbe his Meſſengers, offer any violence to his Souldiers as they paſſe by peaceably: or if any Conſtables or Tything-men ſhall preſume to publiſh or execute any pretended precept or warrant by whomſoever it be ſent unto them, in favour and aſſiſtance of the ſaid *Rebels*; that in thoſe caſes his Majeſty will proceed againſt them with fire and ſword, as the moſt deſperate fomenters of this odious and unnaturall rebellion: it being further ordered, that for the better avoyding of the threatned dangers, the Proclamation ſhall be read in all the Churches and Chappe's of the Kingdome.

It was advertiſed the laſt weeke, that Colonell *Haſtings* hearing that *Gell* was coming towards him with all his Forces

had put himselfe into *Tutbury Castle*, where he had formerly placed a Garrison for defence thereof: but not finding such proportion of Ammunition as he did expect, was like to be distressed by the *Rebels* who had there besieged him. But it was certified this day that *Gell* impatient of delaies, or fearing some supplies might be sent from *Oxford*, in favour of that noble and deserving Gentleman, had brought a double barrell of powder to the Castle gate, with an intent to blow it up. Which being observed by his Majesties souldiers, they did so persecute the *Rebels* from the top of the tower, with stones, shot and bullets, that they made them fall backe in great disorder, and leave the powder behind them; Which being taken into the Castle and presently discharged against them, killed about 60 of the *Rebels*, and did so terrifie the rest, that they dispersed and ran away, some unto *Derby*, some to *Chesterfield* and other places of the Country, and so the siege was raised without further trouble.

It was also signified from *London*, that the prime members of both the pretended Houses are growne so jealous of that City, notwithstanding all the courses they have taken to suppresse and awe them, that they dare not trust the government of it in those hands, to which of right it doth belong. Insomuch that it was ordered in the last week, that the government thereof shall be committed to the *Committee* for the *Militia* of that City; that eight of the *Committee* shall have power to execute *Martiall law* on all whom they are pleased to declare offenders; that all *Middlesex* & the greater part of *Surrey*, shal be subject to the said *Committee*, & that the said *Committee* shall have power to nominate a Deputy Lieutenant for the Tower of *London*, leave being given to Sir *John Conier* (who finds himself mistrusted by them) to go into the *Netherlands* with his wife & family; and it is thought Sir *Peter Wentworth* (one very fit & forward to serve their turns) is to be the man. And yet this doth not make them so secure & confident, but that they are possessed still with new *feares* and *jealousies*, and more now (as they have more cause) then ever. Insomuch that on a groundlesse *Alarme* given on Wednesday last (but by whom they know not) that His Majestie

jesties Forces were at hand, and meant to joyne with the *Kentish*, who were then in Armes, the Ports were stopped, and all the Market-horses seized on for the publike use (perhaps to post away the guilty and affrighted Citizens:) but when the fright was over, and the truth perceived, some of the horses were restored, and the ports set open. What other course is taken, or at the least proposed to be taken, to free them from the like affrights, we shall see to morrow. For,

Tuesday. July 25.

It was this day certified, that according to a paper posted up in severall parts of the City, inviting all Gentlemen and others to appeare at the *Grocers* hall upon Wednesday last for perfecting the petition and remonstrance to be presented to the Houses; there was a confused meeting to that purpose: and that the said petition and remonstrance being so finished and subscribed, was brought on Thursday morning to the *Lower House* by Master *Norbury* one of the *Cursitors* office, and Sir *Fulke Grevill*, and kinsman of the late Lord *Brookes*, attended by a number of the rabble, and the petition full stuffed with very many of their ordinary base reproaches most falsly cast upon His Majesties just and gracious government: and therefore doe desire, that the House would be pleased to appoint their pretended *Major*, Master *Martin*, Master *Strode*, and ten more of the same affections, all members of the Lower House, to be a *Committee* for the safety of the City, and Common-wealth, to have power to list whom they please, to name a Commander in chief, to take subscriptions, to compell those whom they think fit to contribute, to have power to ingage the *publike faith*, to appoint *Sub-Committees* of such men as they shall approve of, to put in execution what they shall thinke necessary for the publike service, that by the fulnesse of their Commission they might incourage the whole Nation as one man with all cheerfulnesse and vigour to come in unto them, for speedy ending of the businesse. A power of no great extent, and such as granted would quickly ease the *close Committee* of all further trouble;

and draw the ſtrength and riches of the kingdome into that one City, and that one City under the command of this new Authority. Which howſoever it may pleaſe the *Houſes* (which perdventure dare not but give way to theſe vaſt deſires) will not be very acceptable (I preſume to the reſt of the Kingdome) who finde already the calamity of being under the command of ſo many Maſters.

It was advertiſed this day alſo, that whereas the remaining Party in the two houſes of Parliament had raiſed two thouſand Souldiers & upwards, and furniſhed them with Arms and Ammunition, & all other neceſſaries, for the reliefe of *Exeter* (the onely prop of their languiſhing faction in the *Weſt Countries*) and had given order to the Earle of *Warwicke* to ſee the ſame ſafely conveyed by Sea to the neereſt *Port*, and from thence put into the Towne: this their laſt hope was brought to nothing, and that cauſe growne deſperate. For it was ſignified by Letters bearing date laſt Saterday, that on the day before the Earle of *Warwicke* with his Fleet came up the river which leads to *Exeter*, intending to batter *Tapſham*, (where a conſiderable part of His Majeſties Forces lay) and under the protection and command of his Canon to land his Men. Which being perceived by the Commander in chiefe, he cauſed a *half-moon* to be caſt up ſpeedily, and thence beſtowed ſome great ſhot on that part of the Fleet which was next at hand; and therein ſped with ſo good ſucceſſe, that he fired three of the Ships, and ſunk two of the Lighters which were prepared to land ſome of their men and Ammunition, as being fitter to come neerer the ſhore then the greater Veſſell. Nor ſtayed they here, but ſo courageouſly purſued the good fortune which God had given them, that they took Captain *Turpin*, who was appointed to command in *chiefe* over all thoſe Forces, & his Man of War, and two other Ships (in which as it is ſaid were thirty eight peece of Ordnance, and ſeventeen Barrels of Powder) and were in chaſe alſo of one of the *Whelps*, which they were in hope to make good prize of. So that all hopes of reliefe by Sea being thus cut off, and all their expectation of ſupplies by Land being before laid by on the defeat of *Waſſers* Army, it cannot

cannot be but that this proud rebellious City muſt ſpeedily ſubmit it ſelfe to the *Victors* mercy.

It was alſo certified in the ſaid Letters, that the Earle of *Warwick* at his firſt approach unto the ſhore, ſent a command to the Sheriffe of the Country to raiſe the *poſſe Comitatus* to attend upon him for the ſafe landing of his men. To which the Sheriffe moſt ingenuouſly returned for anſwer, the Copy of his Majeſties proclamation of *grace and pardon unto all the Mariners and Seamen*, who ſhould either apprehend the ſaid Earle of *Warwick* and his adherents, or bring in any of his Majeſties ſhips into the Haven of *Falmouth*, and thereby uſed his Lordſhip as a meanes and inſtrument, to ſignifie his Majeſtjes commands to the reſt of the Navy.

Wedneſday. July 26.

It was advertiſed this day, that thoſe *Kentiſh* men (of whom you heard in the laſt week of this *Mercurius*) did not only ſtand on the terms they did, but are exceedingly improved in ſtrength and numbers, and ſenſible enough of their power, and wrongs. Inſomuch that when Sir *Henry Vaine* the elder was ſent unto them from the houſe to appeaſe their fury, and ſend them home unto their houſes, they tendered him ſome propoſitions, upon the grant whereof they might perhaps be brought to lay down their Armes. Their propoſitions were (as hath beene certified by letters of the 21 of this moneth.) 1. *Not to have the Covenant put upon them*, 2. *To have the Book of Common prayer reſtored againe unto their Churches*, 3. *That all their Miniſters whom the two Houſes have diſplaced, might be returned unto their Cures*, 4. *That no aſſeſſements be impoſed upon them, but according to the Lawes and cuſtomes of the Realme*; 5. *And thoſe aſſeſſements to be made by Conſtables or other publick Officers of their own neighbourhood*; *And* 6. *laſt of all no plundering of their Houſes upon refuſall to conforme to the Commands of the* Parliament. And though theſe propoſitions ſeemed but faire & reaſonable to all moderate men (being ſuch as could not be denied by the lawes of the land;) yet the prevailing party in the houſe did ſo rule the reſt,

reſt, that no other anſwer muſt be ſent, then that they either lay downe Armes, or elſe expect the fury of the Sword to fall upon them. A reſolution of too high a ſtraine (but that the Members are grown deſperate, and cannot fall into a worſe condition then they are in already) conſidering the declining of their fortune in all places elſe, and the ill ſucceſſe their violence had found before in that very action. And it was ſignified in the aforeſaid letters, that the houſe received information upon Friday laſt that the *Kentiſh* were 6000 ſtrong, and had ſeized on the *Magazine* laied up at *Dartford*: and that whereas the Houſe had ordered that 1000 horſe and 500 Dragoons ſhould be ſent away to ſuppreſſe this riot (as they call it, ſome of which had incamped upon *Blackheath* to attend the coming of the reſt; it was affirmed at the Bar in the houſe of Commons by one Captaine, *Blount*, that 50 of his men were runne away unto the *Kentiſh* with their Arms and horſes, and that he feared that many of the reſt would follow after. The greateſt part of which intelligence is ſeconded by ſome *Kentiſh* Gentlemen, who are come hither to acquaint his Majeſty with the condition of their Country: by whom it is affirmed, that they want neither Men nor Armes to purſue the action; deſiring onely that ſome expert Officers may be ſent unto them, for the better conduct of the ſervice.

It was alſo certified this day, that Prince *Rupert* having joyned his Forces to his Brothers, and the whole Body of their ſtrength being brought together; they ſate downe on Monday before *Briſtol*: and that they began their batteries, and had beſtowed no leſſe then one hundred ſhot on the ſame already. As alſo that on the going off of the firſt peece of Ordnance from his Majeſties Camp, five Ships which lay in *Briſtol* rode advanced his Majeſties Colours on the top of their maſts, declaring that they would ſo keepe the Channell for the uſe of His Majeſty, that neither any ſupplies ſhould be brought into the Towne by Sea, nor any of the *Rebels* which were there get out that way. Which proved of ſuch importance to the diſpatch of the work, that the Town was not likely to hold out long: wherof more to morrow.

Thurſday,

THURSDAY. *July* 27.

It was advertiſed this day that at the firſt coming of the *Hothams* to *London*, a ſpeciall *Committee* was appointed to examine them; with an expreſſe Order, that none of either Houſe ſhould either have conference with them, or acceſſe unto them, but the ſaid *Committee*: and that young *Hotham* had refuſed to anſwer any thing propoſed by the *Committee* to him, deſireing that he might be heard at the publique Barre, where he had many things to ſay, which might conduce unto the ſervice of the Common-wealth. But this the Houſe (*i.e.* the prevalent faction in the Houſe) conceived to be deſtructive of their darke deſignes, which can by no meanes brooke the light, or endure diſcovery. And yet ſo little have their cloſe conveyances ſucceeded with them, that Sir *Iohn Hotham* ſpares not to accuſe the Lord *Say*, Maſter *Pym*, and others, for tranſporting the Treaſure of the Kingdome, to the value of 100000', (*Pelham* a Marchant of *Hull* ſtands to it, that 300000 is the leaſt) which is become ſo ordinary a diſcourſe in the mouthes of all men, that Maſter *Vaſſall* moved in the *Lower Houſe* for a ſtrict accompt to be taken of thoſe vaſt ſummes which had beene leved on the Subject. And certainly it doth concerne the Subject in an high degree, to call for an accompt of thoſe publike monies, which have beene truſted to the faith of particular perſons: leſt whiles they proſecute ſmall offenders for each petit felony, they may be ſaid to let theſe mighty theeves eſcape with the ſtollen Treaſures of a whole Kingdome.

It was alſo certified this day, that the *Rebels* Army under the command of the Earle of *Eſſex* is growne very weake, and able to doe nothing to the hindrance of His Majeſties ſervice: himſelfe complaining by his Letter to the *Lower Houſe*, 'That '3000 *of his Souldiers* (*which was more then halfe his number*) 'were ſo ſicke and weake, that people coming freſh out of the 'Country, refuſed to joyne with them; that in a march of no 'more then eight miles a day hee commonly loſt 30 or 40 of 'them, who dropped downe dead along the wayes; that his

'found men were moſt of them unfurniſhed with Arms and Horſes;
'many of them going almoſt naked for want of clothes: and finally,
'that except care was taken for a preſent ſupply of all things neceſ-
'ſary, he ſhould not have the face of an Army. Maſter *Burroughs* may perceive by this, that there is another *Lord of hoſts* beſides his *Excellency*, (on whom moſt paraſitically and blaſphemouſly he beſtowed that title) ONE who ſo fights His Majeſties battailes, that HE conſumes thoſe who riſe up againſt him with his owne hand, (for this can be no other then the finger of God) and is himſelfe both Judge and Executioner in this righteous cauſe.

It was alſo ſignified this day, that the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* in the night had ſtollen in upon *Gainsburgh*, where through the negligence (or worſe dealing) of an inferiour Officer, hee found eaſie entrance; and having thus ſurprized the Towne, hee ſeized on thoſe few of His Majeſties Souldiers there, but the noble old Earle of *Kingſton* refuſed to render himſelf unto the Rebels, defending himſelfe and the houſe where he lay above a whole day (by their owne confeſſion) againſt all their Ordnance and malice, till at laſt the *Rebels* fired the houſe, which being now ready to fall on his head, forced him to come forth; at whoſe appearance the *Rebels* looked more like the Earles Captives then he their Priſoner, eſpecially the Lord *Willoughby* himſelfe, who had beene obliged to the Earle for many former favours, though now moſt ingrateſully he had forgotten them as well as his allegiance. The *Rebels* finding that they were unable to hold the Towne againſt His Majeſties Forces (who made haſte to ſuccour it) put the chiefe priſoners into a Pinnace to be ſhipped for *Hull*; and that ſome ſhot being made from the workes which commanded the river, to fetch in the Pinnace, the noble Earle of *Kingſton* was moſt unfortunately ſlain; who choſe thus to ſacrifice the remainder of his life (which by the ordinary courſe of nature could not be long) to ſerve His Sacred Majeſty: and by his loyalty, wiſedome, and valour, (qualities which render a man truly heroicall) hath left a pretious name behind him, when theſe ingrateſull *Rebels* ſhall be odious and abhominable to all poſterity;

the

the reſt of the Priſoners together with the Pinnace came in and ſubmittted it ſelfe to the Kings Forces. Neither hath the Lord *Willoughby* any cauſe to boaſt of this action, for beſides that hee was forced to forſake the place almoſt as ſoone as hee had taken it, he is ſo diſtreſſed by His Majeſties Forces, falling upon him from thoſe quarters, that (as himſelfe complaines by Letters to his friends in *Weſtminſter*) he is not able to hold out without ſpeedy aid; which how it will be raiſed and ſent him, no man yet can tell.

But (to make amends for the loſſe of this noble Earle) this day came the newes from *Briſtol*, on which His Majeſties Army which lay about it had given a brave and gallant onſet the day before, and gained the out-workes, (though with the loſſe of one of thoſe three brave brothers the *Lunsfords*, and the wounding of ſome noble and valiant Gentlemen, as the Lord *Grandiſon*, Colonel *Bellaſis*, Sir *Nicholas Slayning*, and ſome others, who all carried themſelves as bravely as themſelves can wiſh, or we poſſibily imagine:) inſomuch that the *Rebels* ſeeing in what caſe they were, did earneſtly deſire a parley; the effect and iſſue of which was, that the Citie and Caſtle ſhould be delivered by nine of the clocke this day to His Sacred Majeſtie, with all the Ordnance, Armes, and Ammunition, the Citie to be left to the diſpoſall of His Majeſtie, the Officers and Commanders to be diſmiſſed in ſafety with their ſwords by their ſides, the common Souldiers with no other weapons then ſticks or cudgels in their hands: which being condeſcended and agreed upon, was performed accordingly, His Majeſties Forces taking poſſeſſion at the time appointed: in which was found (as it is confidently reported) about 80 Peece of Ordnance mounted, many hundred Barrels of Powder, 6000 Armes, with other Ammunition anſwering thereunto. But for the certainty of theſe particulars, I have it onely by report, and not by Letters.

FRIDAY. *July*. 28.

It was advertiſed this day, that in the Lower houſe they have paſſed an *Ordinance*, that the heirs of ſuch as die in their

ſervice (that is to ſay, in *actuall Rebellion* againſt His Majeſty) ſhall be free from *Wardſhip*, which is a ſpeciall part of that Soveraign power which they have drawne unto themſelves, and meane not to reſtore againe unto His Majeſty. For it is ſignified in the ſame letters, that a *Committee* is appointed to draw up an Ordinance for the diſſolving the *Court* of *Wardes* for ever; that neither His Majeſty nor His ſucceſſours may be capable of receiving any more ſervice from the Subject, then of his own accord he ſhall pleaſe to give them. And that there may be Palaces enough for ſo many Princes, they have made bold to take into their hands His Majeſties Houſes of *Richmond*, *Oatelands*, and *Hampton Court*, under pretence of ſearching for money, plate, and armes; and for this cauſe they have poſſeſſed it with a guard for feare His Majeſty ſhould finde it empty when he comes that way. And it is alſo certified that they have made an *Ordinance* for *ſequeſtration*, of ſo great a latitude, and containing ſo many particular branches, that if it paſſe the Lords, and ſhould proceed to execution, would make them abſolutely maſters of the whole eſtates of all the Subjects of this Kingdome, who are not totally ingaged in this deſperate faction, and throughly reſolved to live and die in maintenance of the rebellion raiſed againſt His Majeſtie. As for the flying Army of 6000 horſe to be raiſed (if they knew how) out of *London*, *Middleſex*, and ſome of the adjoyning Counties, they had appointed the Earles of *Pembrook*, *Bullingbroke*, *Mancheſter*, and the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* to be the Generals of it: but three of them refuſing to be ſo imployed, the Earle of *Mancheſter* (who knowes himſelfe already paſt all hope of pardon) tooke the ſole charge upon himſelfe. And ſo they have a Generall in readineſſe, get they their Army where they can.

It was advertiſed this day alſo, that *Browne* the Faggot-man who was ſent from *London* with ſome forces, to ſuppreſſe the *Kentiſh* had made them forſake *Sevenoke* and *Tunbridge*, and goe into ſome places of more advantage: but that the *Kentiſh men* having joyned with the reſt of their party, and reſuming the courage of their *Anceſtors*, had made head againe, and forced the man of wood to make haſt towards *London*, being fol-

low

lowed at the very heeles till he came almoſt within the ſight of the Towne. Which moved the Houſe, conſidering that they dare not ſend too many men out of *London*, for feare the well affected Citizens might make ſome dangerous advantage of the opportunity, to order that Sir *Henry Mildmay* (one of His Majeſties good ſervants) ſhould be ſent to *Eſſex* thence to tranſport a Regiment of Foot, and ſome troops of horſe, to increaſe their Forces: which being in all likelyhood a worke of time, will much conduce to the advancement of His Majeſties ſervice.

This day alſo by Letters we had intelligence from *London*, that not onely the Kings good Subjects, Gentlemen of quality, were tyrannically dealt with in that wretched City, but that Gentlewomen alſo are moſt uncivilly and inhumanely intreated, when as the Noble Earle of *New-caſtle* ſent the Lady *Fairfax* with a ſafe convoy to her husband, though ſhe had been lately fighting againſt the King among the Rebels in the North.

SATURDAY. *July* 29.

This day Letters came from Sir *Richard Grahame*, intimating that Sir *Wilfrid Lamſon*, Maſter *Briſco*, and ſome few other ſeditious Malignants in *Cumberland*, had privately laboured to withdraw His Majeſties good Subjects of that County from their obedience and loyaltie; whereupon Sir *Richard Grahame*, Sir *Edward Muſgrave*, Sir *Henry Fletcher*, Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, Sir *Thomas Dacres*, and others the Gentry of that County, ſuddenly raiſed 2000 Horſe and 3000 Foot, to ſeize upon the ſaid ſeditious perſons, which they accordinglydid, committing them all to ſafe cuſtody. The Gentry and Commons of *Weſtmerland* came in with many thouſands of Horſe and Foot, to teſtifie their loyaltie; and the other neighbour Counties offered the like aſſiſtance. The Letters further declare, that *thoſe Northern Counties are ready and able (as they now have manifeſted) to raiſe* 12000. *Horſe and Foot in ſix dayes warning, to oppoſe any forreigne or domeſtick enemie: The Gentry and Commons being ſo univerſally for His Majeſtie, as the like is ſcarce to be found in any part of his Dominions.*

This week came out in print, by reaſon of the prevalent faction in the Houſe of Commons, the *Copies of ſome Bils* (of no leſſe conſequence then the abolition of the preſent Government of the Church, and the undoing of all honeſt Churchmen) to which His Majeſty had refuſed to give His *Royall aſſent*. Which whether it were to let the *Engliſh* Subjects ſee of how great a bleſſing His Majeſties pious conſtancie had deprived them; or that they have befooled themſelves into an opinion (as they are apt enough to be their owne *Paraſites*, when none elſe will doe it) that theſe Bils of theirs being thus communicated to the people, may paſſe in time for legall, true, and formall Statutes, I have not leaſure to determine. And there came alſo out in print by the ſame Authority (greater then which they think there is none in *England*) a *Declaration of the riſe and growth of the Rebellion in Ireland*, with a bundle of examinations fitted to their mindes, by which they would perſwade fooles (if any be ſo ſenſeleſſe as to beleeve them) that the Queenes Majeſty had an hand in the coutrivance of it. But the contrivers of this Declaration might as well have ſlandered Her Majeſty for being the Author of their Rebellion in *England*. Which Declaration is ſuch a collection of bottomleſſe untruths as never yet were faſtned on the ſacred perſon of a *Prince*. For a taſte Ile give you one only, *viz. the Depoſition of Iohn Dod*, who like a lying wretch doth not ſtick to ſay (for none of theſe examinations were taken upon oath, which is worth the noting) that *there are daily publike meetings for Maſſe in every ſtreet almoſt in* Oxford, *that for one* Sermon *preached there, there are ſaid foure* Maſſes, *that there is about* 3000 Iriſh Rebels *now in* Oxford, *and that the Life-guard doth conſiſt moſt of them*. Things ſo notoriouſly falſe, that greater and more ſcandalous lies were never vented; But let them declare.

And now we are fallen on the detection of untruths, I ſhall next make a generall muſter of thoſe trimme inventions, which occurre in ſome of the laſt *London-newes-books*, being ſix in number; (for ſo many weekly cheats do they publiſh conſtantly to gull the people of their mony) who differ as much from each other as they all do from truth.) And 1. they ſay, *that the King*

King and Queene after their meeting at Edgehill, never came to Oxford, *by reason of the new disease, but are still at* Woodstock: (as true as that the King is now at *Westminster*, or the Queen not landed.) 2 That *Prince* Maurice *and the Lord* Grandison *were dead of their wounds received in the fight with* Waller, and *a magnificent funerall kept for them here*, (whom they have since found alive at the taking of *Bristoll*, and may chance see ere long at the siege of *London*.) 3 That *at the defeat given to* Sir William Waller *neare the* Devizes, *His Majesty lost three for one, His Forces being so extreamely dissipated, that they could not make above* 500. *fighting men*; (and was it not an excellent peece of service for 500. men to take *Bath* and *Bristol*, and make the gallant Conquerour runne away to *London?*) 4. That *the Lord* Fairefax *hath beaten the Earle of* New-castle *out of* Beverley, *and followed him almost as farre as the walls of* York; (whereas the poore Lord is so locked up in *Hull* that he cannot stirre thence if he would, and dares not if he could.) 5 *That the new oath was never tendred to any man to be taken with a penalty if he refused*; (and yet the *Lower House* have passed an *Ordinance* to sequester all mens estates who refuse to take it.) 6 That Sir William Waller *being unwilling to be penned up in* Bristol, *marched thence with* 1500. *horse, besides* 600. *which he left behinde for the publicke service*, (who would be glad, good Gentleman, to see 500. of his own about him, if he knew where to have them.) 7 *That Sir* Ralph Hopton *when he was besieged in the* Devizes *offered Sir* William Waller 300000 *l. to let him goe thence with his bag and baggage*; (and wonder tis that *Waller* would refuse so good a market, but Sir *William* was in hast.) 8. *That the Lord* Grey *is come unto his* Excellency *with* 5000. *men, and hath left sufficient garrisons in* Leicester, Nottingham, *and* Derby; (And yet his Lordship will confesse hee never saw such an Army together, but when *Gell, Cromwell*, and himselfe met at *Nottingham*, to runne away from the Queenes Forces when Shee marched towards *Oxford*) 9. That *the Commons House appointed a Committee to consider of the Innovations now in the Universities*, (the King is in *Oxford*, let that be one.) 10. That *one Master* Barber *was denyed the degree of Doctor at* Cambridge, *onely because they said he was a Brownist*, (let the Members vote him Doctor, for the Universities

ſities give no degrees to Barbers.) 11 That *the Queene is not yet advanced, and if She be, it is probable She will fall ſhort of* Oxford, *and goe by weeping croſſe*; (Her Majeſtie is ſafe in *Oxford*, go hang thy ſelfe quickly.) 12 That *the Houſes appointed* 5000.l. *to be given Sir* William Waller's *Souldiers for their late good ſervice*, (ſend the money to *Oxford*, for *Wallers* Souldiers are brought in thither.) 13 That *the Lady* Waller *ſaid openly, her husband had ſlaine* 1000 *Cavaleirs*, (her Ladyſhip hath patach'd, but we ſee ſhe cannot propheſie.) 14 That *the Lords ſent to the Commons to haſten the Charge againſt Iudge* Berkley, *and the other delinquent Iudges*, (give the Judges good language it will concerne you.) 15 That *Sir* Thomas Fairfax *beat the Cavaleirs, and was woundedin the arme*, (it is well his legge had no hurt.) 16 That 80 *of the Kings Souldiers* (*whereof Major* Byron *was one*) *were taken at the* Deviſes *and carryed to* Malmesbury, (that is, the Kings Souldiers tooke *Malmesbury* laſt wecke; And for Major *Byron* hee thankes you hee is well in *Briſtol* with the reſt of his noble brothers.) 17 That *the Lord* Fairfax *from the beginning was never* 5000 *ſtrong*, (I have 9 of your own Pamphlets which ſay he had at leaſt 10000 men) 18. *That* Manchester *men are about to beſiedge* Cheſter, (that is, the Earle of *Newcaſtle* is about to beſiedge *Manchester*.) 19. That *the Northerne Army preſſe men to an unlawfull Oath*, (that is, the Southerne *Rebels* preſſe men to periury by an odious new Covenant. 20. That *Sir* Arthur Haſlerig *made the Cavaleirs runne at the* Deviſes, *and had onely a ſleight wound in the necke*. Another ſayes, *that wound was in his heele*; (when he was ſhot his heele lay in his necke.) And a third ſayes, *hee was hurt onely in the eare*, and ſayes *it will be a marke of honour to Sir* Arthur, (as it was to the three crop-eard Saints, *Pryn, Baſtwicke, and Burton.*) 21 That *his Excellency intends ſuddenly to give* Oxford *a ſound Alarme*, (and is therefore gone to to *Windſor* to get leave of Miſtreſſe *Venn*.) Laſtly, (for now you have above a *ſcore*, and may if you pleaſe have *hundreds*) they ſay, *if they want wood this Winter in* London, *neither the Maſquing-houſe at* White-Hall, *nor the timber of any Malignants houſe ſhall ſtand*; But *Tyburne* ſhall ſtand, where I leave ye all ſix together.

FINIS.

12

A

RELATION

MADE

In the Houſe of Commons,

BY

Col: *Nathaniel Fiennes,*

CONCERNING

The Surrender of the City and Caſtle

OF

BRISTOLL,

Auguſt 5. 1643.

Together with the Tranſcripts and Extracts of certain Letters, wherein his care for the preſervation of the City doth appear.

Imprimatur, JOHN WHITE.

London, Printed for *R. D.*

Aug: 11th

Mr. *SPEAKER*,

ALthough both my ſelfe and the whole Kingdome have cauſe to be humbled under the hand of God, which hath lighted heavy upon us, in the late unhappy defeat of Sir *William Wallers* Army neer the *Deviſes*, and in conſequence thereof, in the loſſe of a place of ſuch importance as is the City of *Briſtoll*, yet I make no doubt but I ſhall give cleere ſatisfaction both to this Houſe, and to the whole world; That though I have great cauſe to be griev'd at the ſucceſſe, yet I have no cauſe at all to be aſhamed for any miſ-carriage in the diſcharge of my duty and truſt, having performed it to the uttermoſt of my power, and beyond what could be expected from me, conſidering the condition wherein I was, and in this great unhappines wch hath befallen my ſelf and the whole kingdom; it is ſome eaſe to me that I have opportunity to cleere my ſelfe in this place, from ſuch aſperſions as moſt unworthily and moſt unjuſtly have been layed upon me, by thoſe that have condemned me before they heard me, or any other upon whoſe relation they were able to found a right judgement concerning the carriage of this unhappy buſineſſe.

Sir, I wil not trouble you with rehearſing the occaſiō of my firſt undertaking the care & charge of the City; nor with the dangers & difficulties that I have gone through in the mānaging thereof: only thus much I ſhall ſay, that as I little enjoyed my ſelf in the employment, having no reſt or quiet from continuall care and paines, ſo I never did affect it, but allwayes declined it, and that not in a way of complement, but really as my private Letters to my Lord Generall, my father, and others, and my expreſſions at ſeverall times to my friends in private, may witneſſe; and the reaſon why I did deſire to be taken off that imployment, was this: Becauſe I knew that the place was of very great importance to the Kingdom, and the loſſe thereof would much reflect upon him that had the charge thereof, though he were not at all in any fault, having not ſufficient means to defend it, which I alwayes feared would be the deſtiny of that place (as it hath been) by reaſon that it would require a great Garriſon, and charge to maintain it, which I found would not ſo ſoone and ſo

easily be setled, but that some misfortune was like to befall it (as it hath done) in the mean time. Notwithstanding, seeing God was pleased to pitch me there, and that I could not get off this service, (although I earnestly endeavoured it) I bethought my selfe, how I might put the place into a posture of defence, and though it be one of the hardest towns in *England* to be fortified, yet by Gods assistance I drew Fortifications round about it, and had almost brought them to perfection: and knowing that without men, arms, and ammunition, all that I had done would be but like a body without a soul, and considering how hard a thing it would be to have men and maintenance continually from *London*, for the defence of that City; and that it was as impossible (what conceits soever some had of the wealth of that City) to maintaine the Garrison, out of the City, without the assistance of the adjacent Counties: I made certain Propositions soon after my first coming thither, to the Gentlemen of the adjacent counties, for the setling and maintaining of a sufficient Garrison there; which (at length, I got most of the Gentlemen to consent unto, as may appear by Certificates under their hands:) After I sent them to my Lo: Generall, who liked them very well, and wrote a Letter to my father, wherein he did earnestly presse him to move the Committee for the safety, and the Houses for to settle the Garrison according to those Propositions; accordingly the Committee and the Houses were moved in it: an Ordinance framed to that purpose, and a Committee appointed to consider of it, and to bring it to perfection: and there was never a Post, but I wrote earnestly for the expediting of it, and pressed it, as that which imported no lesse then the safety of the City: (all this my Letters to my Lord, Father, and others can testifie) yet I know not what obstructions it met with at the Committee, but I am very confident had it been dispatched when I first sent about it, before the Armies had fallen into the countries round about that City, it had not been in the hands that now it is. In the mean time I did not faile to use all the care I could, and all the power I had to strengthen that Garrison with men, arms, and ammunition; for whereas I found, there only Colonell *Essex's* and Col. *Pophams* Regiments: Sir *William Waller* drew out Col. *Essexs* Regiment, and all the Troops of horse that were in it, except two for the service of the field, in stead whereof, I raised and armed as many troops as he drew forth: and without any money allowed from *London* raised,

fed, armed and coated a Regiment of foot, of 1200. men. After that, when Sir *Ralph Hoptons* Army, upon the defeat of the Earl of *Stamford*, began to draw down towards Somersetshire, and Marquesse *Hartford*, and Prince *Maurice*, endeavoured to joyne their forces with him: Six Companies of Col. *Phipams* Regiment were drawn forth to joyn with the forces of Somerset to prevent the joyning of the enemies western forces; but these were routed, and lost all their arms at *Wells*. After that, when Sir *Wil. Waller* came from *Worster*, and had his Randevouz at *Bath*, both he and Sir *Arthur Hazelrig*, and all the Gentlemen of the country were very earnest with me to afford him a good strength of foot to his horse, whereby he might be inabled to encounter with the enemy, and be master of the field, which was pressed upon me both by him, and others with great earnestnesse, as the onely means to preserve *Bristoll* and the west of *England*, (as may appear by a Letter signed by him and sir *Arthur Hazelrig*, (which I shall desire may be read:) Hereupon I advised with my Officers, and concluded that if there had been a sufficient Garrison within the City, whereby it might have subsisted of it selfe without the help of an Army in the field, that it would not have bin wisdom in me to suffer so considerable a place to depend upon the fortune of an Army in the field; but seeing there was not a sufficient Garrison established in the town, but that the enemy being master of the field, would in a short time be master of the City also: it was held the best way to make Sir *Wil: Wallers* Army as strong as possible I could; and seeing the security of the City was to depend upon the successe of his Army, to use all means that might any wayes contribute towards the good successe thereof; and so I resolved to send him 1200. men out of the towne, which accordingly I did, besides my Regiment of horse, which was with him before: After expressing that I was forced to cast *Bristoll*, and the fortune thereof upon the successe of that Army; But when all Sir *Will. Waller's* Army was routed, and amongst them those 1200. that I had sent out of *Bristoll* were all dispersed, and had lost all their arms; Every body looked upon *Bristoll* as a lost town, and that onely with respect to the western Army, without relation to those forces which came from *Oxford* with Prince *Rupert*, (which were more then the other:) Hereupon Sir *Wil: Waller* resolved to retire with his horse (wherein he did wisely, for otherwise he would have lost those

that

that remained of them, to no purpose;) and Sir ARTHUR HAZELRIGGE and Colonell BORROUGHELL though sorely wounded, and divers Gentlemen that had formerly resided constantly in *Bristoll*, thought fit to withdraw themselves, which I do not speak to any other purpose (many of them having no tye at all to that place) but onely to shew that it was the generall apprehension of these men, that *Bristoll* was lost when Sir *William Waller* lost the field, and that they did not hold that either Town or Castle was tenable (for that to my knowledge they might have had lodgings in either) all which I am enforced to declare, to satisfie the world, that there were some besides my self and the Councell of War at *Bristoll*, that were of opinion, that neither the Town nor Castle were tenable against such Forces as came against them. Notwithstanding all this, and that I had but 700 men left in the town, and not a penny of money left to pay them, much lesse to raise or arm any more, yet I was not wholly discouraged, but it pleasing God to stir up the heart of Sir *John Horner*, (who hath carryed himself very nobly in this businesse to the end) and some other honest men to lend me some money, (whom I am confident you will never suffer to be Losers, for the testifying of their affection in such a time of extremity;) by this means I was encouraged to try what strength of Foot I could adde to these I had already, and resolved to make use of the Arms of the Trained-Bands of the City, which I did, and by that meanes, and by ready money, I procured about One thousand or Eleven hundred Arms, and raised so many men in Five dayes space; which time of respite the Enemy gave me, staying til the *Oxford* Army under the Conduct of Prince *Rupert* came up on *Glocestershire* side the Town. Having gotten together between Seventeen hundred, or Eight en hundred men (which was nothing for the manning of those Works, that required at least twice as many) I resolved to make the best defence I could, and as long as I could, although when I saw the two Armies drawn upon both sides the town (being as I have been since informed, Fifteen Regiments of Foot, and Twelve Regiments of Horse) I did know, that without a miracle, it was impossible the town should be maintained against them for one week, yet neither the sight of their great Army, nor their short Summons, did cause us to surrender the place, as some have reported we did; and the Enemy expected we should have done (as some of them

have

have expreſſed ſince the rendring of the town) but we ſtood it out Four dayes together, wherein they ſpared not to plye us with ſmall and great ſhot, and with their Granadoes; giving our men (who were forced to be conſtantly all of them upon duty, and were ſo Five dayes and nights together) no reſt at all, and two ſharp aſſaults they made upon us, the one on Munday was ſeven-night at midnight, at which time having given a ſignall by three peeces of Ordnance ſhot off, firſt on the one ſide of the water, and then anſwered by as many on the other ſide, they fell on very deſperately on both ſides the town at once, but were beaten off with loſſe; whereupon on Tueſday they entred into a ſolemn debate, whether they ſhould proceed to fall upon the town by way of Aſſault, or by way of Approach; and it was reſolved, that it ſhould be by way of Aſſault, as may appear by the Reſult of their Counſcell of War (which we found in the pocket of Colonell *Buck* (who, with divers other Officers and Gentlemen of quality was ſlain in that Aſſault) and accordingly on VVedneſday morning at break of the day they made a moſt furious Aſſault upon all ſides of the town in Eight or Nine places at once, with Fire-Pikes and Granadoes in their hands, and with VVains full of Faggots, which they drove into the Ditches, that firſt getting upon them, they might after get over the works, and they ran on ſo deſperately, that they got up to the portalls of the Canon, and to the Palliſadoes of the Forts, and would not give over till they were knock'd down with Stones and Halberts, and ſo with the loſſe of divers hundreds of their men, (with many Officers and Gentlemen of quality) beſides a multitude that were wounded and maimed, they were beaten off on all ſides, and the ground beſtrewed with their dead bodies in all places where they ſtormed.

But in one place where the works were not quite perfected, the Ditch being not made without ſide, nor the Foot Bank within ſide the work, they entred the line, there being but a weake Guard in that place, yet as I did in all places where through the want of foot I could not place a Guard ſtrong enough, there were neer a 100. horſe under the command of Major *Langriſhe*, appointed to ſecond the Foot there, who were commanded to charge the enemy ſo ſoon as they ſhould enter, but theſe horſe did not charge the enemy as they were commanded, though ſome of them were moſt earneſtly entreated thereunto by my

Lieute-

Lieutenant Colonell, who had the command of that part; when the enemy first began to enter, and our men began to give back; so the enemy falling on in five distinct bodies, the first and the second got over, and presently got to the walls and places of advantage within the line, but as the third body was entring, my troop of horse, that was set to second another Guard, hearing of the enemies entrie in this place, came down and fell upon the third Devision of the enemy as they were entring, and cut them off; but being assaulted both by those that were entring, and those that had entered, before they came down firing upon them from the walls (which they had got the advantage of) they were forced to retreat, and then the enemy had free liberty to possesse themselves of the Suburbs by the Colledge Green, and Froom-gate, which they did, and hoping to force their entrie by that gate, they drew off the whole body of their forces to the place; whereupon we also drew off all our men from off the line into the town, and not staying till they came to the Gates, we opened them, and issued forth upon the enemy both with horse and foot, and beat them back from street to street for an houre and halfe together, insomuch that many of them threw downe their arms and cryed for Quarter, but the enemy drawing down fresh Companies still one after another upon us, and we being not able to answer them in the like kind, having so few men as we had, our men were forced at length to retreat into the town, and then, and not till then, whether it were out of extream wearinesse, (having bin upon continuall duty for five nights together) or that they began to be disheartned, the souldiers began to drop away from their colours, and from their guards, insomuch that (having declared that all souldiers should repair into the Marsh unto their colours, and that there they should receive both victualls and mony:) when I went into the Marshe to see what company came together, of 12. or 14. Companies there came not a 100. men, and yet the enemy drew down thick upon the back, and it began now to be low water in the *Key*, so that they might wade over at their pleasure, and the guards being so weak, might (if they had attempted it) have forced their entrie into the town in halfe an hour: Hereupon I resolved to call a Counsell of war, for that now was the time that either we must treat or retreat into the Castle, if it should be thought fit so to do, for that the Town could not be kept any longer.

The Officers of the Garison being gathered together, and also the Gentlemen of the adjacent Counties, Sir *Iohn Horner*, *Edward Stroude*, Mr. *Stevens*, &c. We tooke it into consideration, whether we should treate with the enemy or no, or retreat into the Castle, firing the Town behind, as we made our retreat, if wee could keep the Town no longer, every body seemed to be of opinion, and as for the retiring into the Castle before we treated with the enemy, these considerations were offered against it. First, all our Horse, which were 300. All the Souldiers that could not be contained in the Castle (which would have been near halfe of them) all our friends, both Citizens, and those that had retired themselves into *Bristol* out of the adjacent Counties, excepting some few Principall men, must have been sacrificed to the furie of the enemy, the Citie was like in great part to be put into ashes, and those that should retire into the Castle (if they were not prevented by the enemie) falling upon them on one hand, and the generality of the City on the other, (as I am credibly informed, there was such a designe) they must also within three or foure daies have been the objects of the enemies cruelty and revenge (who would have given them no conditions) when they had no further retreat to make conditions in.

A second consideration was this, that if we did fall upon these desperate resolutions, we should destroy, only that we might destroy without any hope of defending the place above three or foure daies, and without expectation of any relief in three or foure weeks, (nay it is clear, we should not have had any in sixe or eight weeks. That which made it evident, that wee could not hold the Castle above two or three daies, was becaus we had not amunition for a longer time, having only fifty barrells of Powder, and no match at all, and according to the proportion of powder that we had spent the daies before, this would not have served us above two daies: And if any blame me for being no better provided with Ammunition, my Answer is, that I found but 45. Barrels of powder in the Town when I first entred upon the charge thereof, that I had set all the men I could find about the City, and in the Countrie thereabouts, to make Salt Peter and Powder, that I had severall times searched all the Ships and Shops in the City, and had brought into the store all the Powder and Match that could be found, that I had sent to *London* often for Powder, declaring that want of Powder and men would be the losse of that City, and of the *West* of *England*, that I received only 30. Barrels of Powder from *London*, and that 70. more were sent by a Ship (which

as I understand since is cast away) that unlesse I had taken care for more surety to have some from *France* (from whence I had 126 barrels) long ere this both the Town and Sir *William Waller* had bin lost for want of powder, & I was forced to help Sir *William Waller* with so great a proportion of powder (about 60 barrels) and so much match, before the Siege of the City, that I could not recover it, the enemy giving meno time to furnish my self again with match and powder, and if I had not helpd Sir *William Waller* at that time, he having but 6 barrels of powder left him after the fight at *Launsdown*: both the losse of his Army and of the City in consequence thereof, would have been imputed to me, and as I said before, I held the security of *Bristoll*, to be involved in the security of that Army, and that the destiny of the one, would bee the fall of the other. Besides whatever opinion some may have of the strength of the Castle (and indeed I had a greater opinion of it my selfe, till I saw the manner of the Enemies storming and the execution that their peices of batterie did eaven upon our perapets of Earth) I am of the opinion that the enemy was, that they would by battery and storme of hand have entred the Castle in two dayes. and so they did resolve to have stormed it, being provided with close decked boates and galleries to that purpose; and I doe verily believe that they would have gained it though with the losse of some men, whereof there would have been after, a great deale more losse and massacre on every side, when they should have entred in that manner by force, which I am confident in the eye of any judicious man, they would have done, the fortifications about the Castle being not perfected as they were intended, upon these Reasons it was concluded by the Counsell of War that we should rather treat, & accept of conditions which might preserve the City to the *Kingdom* and 300 horse and 1500 Foot to the Parliament, besides the lives and estates of many friends to the Parliament; then to expose al these to evident ruine and destruction for to preserve the Castle 2 or 3 daies without hope of keeping it longer: and without hope of having relieve in that space, or in any time it could be imagined the Castle could be kept, though we could have kept it 2 mon. as I verily perswade my self we could not have kept it 2 daies. When we now entred into the Parley, all the conditions that we desired allmost we had accorded unto us, excepting that of the Ammunition, Souldiers marching out with his armes and colours, wheron I intended to have insisted and should have done it, but that whilst I was withdrawne to debate it, together with my Officers, divers of my Captaines, came in and told me,

that

that doe what they could, they could not get together above six a piece of their compainies that many of them did run over the water to the enemy, which not onely shewed the enemy that our men were dishcartened, and that they should find but slender oppositi on, but it also shewed the enemy how they might with ease come over the water into the tovvne; vvhich undoubtedly, they vvould have done, vvithall the ease that might bee, had vve broke off the Treaty vvithout comming to an agreement. It is true, conditions vvere not observed (vvhich turned very much to the prejudice of the State) for by that meanes they ruined a Regiment of three hundred horse and disperced a body of 1200, or 1500 Foot, vvhich if faith had beene kept; I vvould have brought in a body together to this City, and that was a speciall thing that induced me to surrender upon Conditions, esteeming that the preservation of so many Horse and Foot, for the serving the State, together with the lives and Estates of divers hundreds of our Friends, was of more consideration unto the Parliament, then the desperate holding out of a Castle for a few dayes to no purpose but the distruction of those that could not bee drawne into it first, and of all those also that were drawne into it afterwards there being no hope of any timely reliefe, but it is time that the falshood of the Enemy (against which there is no Fence ha h in great part deprived us of the fruit of our conditions dismounting our Troopers pillaging our Souldiers as well Officers as others and by threats and inticements drawing off our Souldiers to serve them, or disperceing them into their severall Countries, and our convoy used us worst of all, pillaging us allmost all the way they went with us. and extorting moneyes from us, wherein the Officers for the most part were as much to blame as the Common-Souldiers, yet I must doe this right to the Princes, Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice*, contrary to what I find in a printed pamphlet, that they were so farre from sitting upon their horses, triumphing and rejoycing at these disorders that they did ride amongst these plunderers with their swords, hacking and slashing them, and Prince *Rupert* did excuse it to me in a very faire way and with expressions as if he were much troubled at it.

One thing more I shall endeavour to give you satisfaction in and so I shall conclude. It is concerning Sr *William Wallers* leaving of *Bristoll*, which by something that I have seen in Print, as the resolution of a Councell of Warre held at *Bristoll*, is sayed to have been by the importunity of mee, and my Officers, at which Councell of Warre, neither I nor any of my Officers were present, nor doe I know that

Sir *William Waller* was ever importuned, or ſo much as moved by mee, or any of my Officers to goe from thence, but finding by many expreſſions of his that hee did not intend to bee beſieged with his Horſe in that Towne (as it would not have been wiſedome for him to have been) the firſt Speech that I had with him about his ſtay or departure, was when he drew out his Horſe upon *Bundam Downe*, neere *Briſtoll*, for to take a view of them, at which time I asked him if the Enemy ſhould advance towards *Briſtoll*, how he would diſpoſe of himſelf and his Horſe, whereunto he anſwered that he muſt retreat, and thereupon ſo ſoon as I come off the Downe, I called a Councell of Warre, and acquainted them with Sir *William Wallers* reſolution, and thereupon we made certaine propoſitions unto him, that if he did leave the Towne, that hee would leave a certain proportion of Horſe with us (which was my Regiment) and that hee would leave all his foot with us, who if wee could get Arms for them, might be ſome help to us, which propoſition he ſtuck at a while, alleadging that he would take the field againe, and would have his Foot with him, but after he was contented to leave the Foot with us, finding it was not poſſible for him to keepe the field with a few unarmed Foot and a many ſcattred and diſheartned Troopes, which I am confident did not altogether make 500. Horſe when he left *Briſtoll*, yet they were two many to loſe, as I am confident they would all have been loſt had they ſtayed in *Briſtoll*, or have runne away to the Enemy, as many of them did, and they would have beene of no uſe to us for the Defence of the Citie, but have helped to have ſpent our Proviſion, and diſturbed the Citie quarrelling continually with the Townſmen for want of Money to pay their quarters (as they did) and therfore it was my opinion and is ſtill that it was beſt for the advantage of the ſervice that Sir *William Waller* ſhould draw them out of the Town, and this I might exp reſſein diſcourſe, but that I ever moved Sir *William Waller* thereunto, much leſſe importuned him I doe not remember, onely juſt as he was going to take Horſe, he deſired me, if it was my opinion, that I would ſet it under my hands, that I did approve of his reſolution therein, which accordingly I did, but I knew nothing of his going to my Lord Generall, but expected rather that he would have gone to *Gloſter* or *Exeter*, and gathered a Body there, to have afforded me ſome ſpeedy reliefe, which when he went from me, he told me he would doe, and that he would not be long ere he returned to my reliefe, or to that purpoſe, and as it appeareth by a Letter, which he writ to my Lord Generall, the day after he came to *Briſtoll*,

that

that he intended not to ſtay there, but to take the Field againe, ſo it did appeare to me by many of his expreſsions, that he never intended to bee kept up in *Briſtoll*, and I never heard that he advised with any of my Officers concerning his ſtay at *Briſtoll*, but ſuppoſing that he muſt not ſtay in the Towne, hee adviſed with one of my Officers, whether he had beſt to retire to *Gloſter*, or to *Exeter*, who adviſed Him to goe for *Exeter*, and to take *Dorcheſter* in the way, and ſo gathering all the Forces he could to joine with the Earle of *Warwick*, to raiſe the ſiege of *Exeter*, and after to make a Body to releeve us, which in my opinion had been no ill courſe if it had been followed. Thus having declared unto you all particulars at large, I deſire you would be pleaſed to let the truth of what I have affirmed be examined at a Councell of Warre, that I may bee cleared or condemned according as they ſhall finde the truth or falſhood of what I have declared.

The Copy of a Letter written to my Lord *Say*, by Colonell *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and the Gentlemen of *Somerſet* and *Glocester-ſhire* for the ſetling of a ſufficient Garriſon in that *City*; they having written another to my Lord Generall to the ſame purpoſe.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

TO Underſtand firſt the importance of this City of *Briſtoll*, and next the condition in which we are left to defend it: The enemy hath lately caſt his eye upon it, prompted by the witty malice of our Malignants, to eſpy his advantage, if he poſſeſſe this City, hee will reape theſe benefits by our loſſe. 1. he will get much money, Armes and Amunition in a more cheape and leſſe hazardous way, then he can have them out of the Low-Countreyes, all which hee will pay for with monopolies and ingroſſiments of Trade, (things with which the great ones of this Towne have bin well acquainted, and are therfore malignant. 2. If he gaine this Town he will ſoone ſubdue *Glocester*, and become Maſter of all the Tract betweene *Shrewſbury*, and and the *Lizards* point in *Cornwall*, a quarter ſo plentifull, as his plundering army yet never ſaw. 3. He will become maſter of all the Trafficke of that Inland Sea the Severne, and make all the Shipping both of the *Welch*, and *Engliſh* Coaſts his owne. 4. His Neighbourhood to Wales: will from time to time ſupply him with a body of Foot 5. We ſhall loſe a Port Towne very important for the ſervice of *Ireland* and fit to give Landing to the Rebels of that place or any other Enemy.

The

The diſeaſed ſtate we ſtand in followeth.

The Enemy hath lately bin before our doores invited by a treacherous party in this Town: we had then 2 Regiments of foot, Colonell *Eſſexes*, and Col. *Pophams*, and almoſt a whole Regiment of horſe, yet the extent of this ſcattering City, commanded by many Hils and the conſpiring multitude within it enforced all our men at once to doe duty: ſo that we had bin undone by watching over our ſafety, if the enemy had bin able to perſiſt, ſince which time Sir *William Waller* hath beene with us, (and being deſirous to take the field) hath taken from us Col. *Hlex* whole Regiment of foot, and the moſt part of our horſe. And though we acknowledge a partie in the Field, to bee a good ſtrength to us, yet wee conceive a City of this conſequence ought to have an inward ſtrength of his owne, and not to depend wholly upon the uncertaine iſſue of warre abroad; conſidering how apt the Town is to riſe againſt us if the dye of war ſhould turn againſt Sir *William Waller*, and the enemy purſue his victory to the Walls or if a joint party from *Cornwall* and *Wales*, ſhould paſſe through the Country, and take up our malignants in their way, wee cannot promiſe to keep the town but to loſe our ſelves, ſeeing our whole ſtrength conſiſts but of Col. *Pophams* Regiment of Foot not compleat, and of Col. *Piennes*, and Col. *Coles* Troopes of Horſe.

Wherefore we ſhall humbly propound the remedy, which is, that we may be enabled to raiſe, two other Regiments of foot, one under the command of Col. *Piennes*, and the other under the command of

And that we may have ſome ſupply of money from the Parliament; That theſe new raiſed Regiments together with Col. *Pophams* aforeſaid Regiment, and Col. *Piennes* Regiment of Horſe be only deſtined for defence of this City and Country for twenty miles round about it, out of which territory of 20 miles compaſſe and this City, if they be left onely to us we hope to pay the ſaid forces when as they are raiſed, we have written to his Excellency for two or three experienced Commanders to make Sergeant Majors, as many able Gunners, and a skillfull Engineer; we beſeech your Honour forward our deſires; One advertiſement more we ſhall trouble your Lordſhip withall; which is that our rich Merchants have ſhipped moſt of their Treaſure, and the Ships lie off at Sea out of our command, which ſeemes to threaten a ſtorme at Land: If the Parliament could ſpare 2, or 3, good pinnaces to guard this haven and the Seaverne; that no Ships paſſe without licence, it would much ſecure theſe parts and annoy Wales, and we conceive the charge may be born by the toll upon

all

all merchandize, which thoſe malignants deſerve to undergoe.

The two Pinnaces ſent by the Parliament to *Milford* Haven, are veſſels of no force, and their commanders of no activity that we heare of. And if we be truſted to take ſome accompt of their endeavours it may perchance quicken them. we have writ to his Excellency, to enable us by his appointment to proceed with our Treacherous Conſpirators, to the utmoſt extent of marſhall Law; the wickednes of ſome of them deſerving to be made an example of utmoſt ſeverity, and without which, we ſhall incurre contempt and lie open to more practiſes, we beſeech your Lordſhip bee the mediator of our humble deſires, and make what uſe you pleaſe of them, to the cloſe Committee we have revealed thoſe weakneſſes to your honour, which otherwiſe wee deſire to conceale knowing that a bare reputation in matters of War doth many times win the game. We are

Briſtoll, 20 *March* 1643.

Your honours humble Servants.

Nathaniel Fiennes.

Alexander Popham.

Ch: Walker.

Joh. Seymoure.

Edw. Stephens.

A Copie of a Letter written by my Lord Generall, to the Lord SAY, concerning the ſetling of a ſufficient Gariſon at BRISTOLL, according to the Propoſitions made by Colonell *Fiennes* to that purpoſe.

My Lord,

I Underſtand there is a Committee of the Houſe of Commons appointed to conſider of the eſtabliſhing a Gariſon in the City of *Briſtoll*. I am very glad of their care of it, being a place of ſo great importance. I deſire your Lordſhip to acquaint the Committee with my reſolution concerning the ſtrength of that Gariſon, and entreate them that courſe may be taken for a ſufficient maintenance for it.

I Thinke it neceſſary that that Gariſon doe conſiſt of thoſe two Regiments which Col. *Fiennes* hath already raiſed, and of that Regiment under Col. *Popham*, of two Troopes of Horſe, and Captaine *Olands* company of Dragoons. This I thinke little enough both in reſpect of the importance of that place as being the Key of the Weſt of *England*, and likewiſe becauſe by theſe forces the Governour will bee able at all times to ſuppreſſe any that ſhall riſe againſt us in thoſe parts to aſſiſt our friends, as now is done by Colonell *Pophams* Regiment.

My Lord, I againe recommend this buſineſſe to your care and deſire you likewiſe, that you will let my reſolution herein be knowne to the Governour of *Briſtoll*, and likewiſe to the Gentlemen of *Somerſet-ſhire*, *Gloceſter-ſhire*, and *Wilt-ſhire*, that they may endeavour to ſettle ſome conſtant courſe for the maintenance of this Gariſon.

My Lord I am

Thame, Iune, 22. 1643.

Your Lordſhips faithfull Friend and Servant,

ESSEX.

A Draught of the Ordinance presented to the House of Commons by the Le: Say, for the setling of a sufficient Garrison

AT

BRISTOLL,

According to the Propositions made by Colonell Fiennes, *and recommended unto his care by my Lord Generall, and the Gentlemen of Somerset and Glouceſterſhire.*

THe Lords and Commons taking into their ſerious conſideration, the great importance of the city of *Briſtoll*, to the ſafety of this Kingdom, and the dangerous attempts that have been made againſt it by the late deteſtable Conſpiracie, and the great Forces that were brought before it by Prince *Rupert*, into whoſe hands the Conſpirators were prepared to have delivered the ſame; And that there is great danger that the like attempts may be made hereafter for the ſurpriſall of it, if care be not taken for the preventing thereof.

Do Order and Ordain, That there ſhall be a Garriſon forthwith raiſed by Colonell *Fiennes*, the Governour of the ſaid City, conſiſting of Three Regiments of Foot, one of Twelve hundred men, and another of One thouſand, another of Eight hundred men, and Two Troops of Horſe, and One company of Dragoons; to be completely armed and furniſhed, and there kept and maintained in conſtant pay, for the defence of the ſaid city and the circuit thereof; And to be imployed for the defence of the city of

Bathe,

Bathe, and the adjacent counties of *Somerſet* and *Glocester*, as occaſion ſhall require.

And that one of the ſaid Regiments for the ſaid Garriſon, conſiſting of Twelve hundred men, ſhall be maintained by *Barkley* diviſion, in the county of *Glouceſt'*, another of One thouſand, being Colonels *Pophams* Regiment, with the Troops of Horſe, and company of Dragoons, by that part of the Eaſtern diviſion in the county of *Somerſet*, which is next adjoyning to *Briſtoll* and *Bathe*. And the third Regiment of Eight hundred men, together with other incident charges neceſſary for their ſafety, by the ſaid cities of *Briſtoll* and *Bathe*.

And it is likewiſe Ordained, That there be Three Regiments more of Trained Bands, or Volunteers, which upon Summons ſhall be drawn together from time to time; as often as need ſhall require, for the defence of the ſaid cities and counties adjacent; One of which Regiments of the Trained Bands, or Voluntiers, ſhall be raiſed out of *Barkley* diviſion, in the county of *Glouceſt'*; One other out of that part of the Eaſtern diviſion of *Somerſetſhire*, which is neareſt *Briſtoll* and *Bathe*; And the third, out of both the ſaid cities.

That for the better ſettlement of the Garriſon in manner aforeſaid, the Deputy-Lieutenants in the counties of *Glouc'* and *Somerſet*, ſhall cauſe the Regiments of the Trained-Bands of their ſeverall counties to be furniſhed again with Arms, thoſe of *Glocesterſhire* being for the moſt part loſt at *Cicester*; And thoſe of *Somerſetſhire* in the parts next *Briſtoll*, being imployed in Colonell *Pophams* Regiment, being one of the Three to be kept in conſtant pay as aforeſaid.

And that all the Moneys which ſhall be levyed out of *Barkley* diviſion in *Glouc'*, and out of that part of the Eaſtern diviſion in *Somerſetſhire* which is next adjoyning to *Briſtoll* and *Bathe*, and out of the cities of *Briſtoll* and *Bathe*, by vertue of the ſeverall Ordinances of both Houſes for the weekly Aſſeſſments, the Twentieth part, and the Sequeſtrations of Delinquents Eſtates; ſhall be aſſigned for the uſe of the aforeſaid Garriſons and Fortifications. And that the ſeverall Committees who are appointed to receive or iſſue out Monies raiſed by theſe Ordinances in the ſaid city of *Briſtoll*, or the ſaid counties adjacent ſhall pay and defray all the charges of the ſaid Garriſon and Fortifications, being valued and made known to them by the ſaid Governour

of

of *Briſtoll*, out of the moneys to be raiſed by the ſaid Ordinances, before they do imploy any part thereof to any other uſe. And the Warrant and Receit of the ſaid Colonell *Fiennes* Governour of the ſaid city, ſhall be a ſufficient diſcharge to the ſaid Committees in that behalf. Provided alwayes, that if there ſhall not be a ſufficient proportion for the uſes aforeſaid, raiſed out of the ſeverall diviſions and places before mentioned, that then it be made up out of the reſt of the ſaid counties reſpectively.

And alſo that the ſurpluſage (if any be) ſhall be imployed for the uſe of other parts of the adjacent counties, and for ſuch other uſes as ſhall be directed by both Houſes of Parliament.

And it is further Ordained by the Authority aboveſaid, that aſwell for the maintenance of the ſaid Garriſon, and the charges incidentthereunto. As alſo, for the making and finiſhing of the Fortifications and Works in and about the ſaid city of *Briſtoll*, the ſaid city of *Briſtoll* ſhall pay, and is hereby rated and aſſeſſed to the Weekly ſum of Four hundred pounds, to begin the Firſt day of July, 1643. And for the better performance thereof, and eaſe of the ſaid city, It is Ordained by the Lords and Commons, That the Weekly ſum of Fifty five pounds, formerly aſſeſſed upon the ſaid city by the late Ordinance of both Houſes of Parl. for the Weekly Aſſeſſments towards the ſupply of the Army raiſed by Authority of Parliament, ſhall go and be accounted as part of the ſaid Four-hundred pounds weekly for the maintenance of the ſaid Garriſon and Fortifications, and not otherwiſe to be required for the uſe of the ſaid Army.

It is further Ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, That the ſaid Weekly Aſſeſſment of Four hundred pounds ſhall be Aſſeſſed, rated, taxed, and levyed by Colonell *Fiennes* Governour of the ſaid Town, Colonell *Popham*, *Richard Aldſworth* Major of the ſaid city of *Briſtoll*, Sergeant Major *John Cliſton*, Captain *Richard Hippeſley*, Captain *Thomas Hippeſley*, Mr. *Luke Hodges*, Mr. *Henry Gribs*, and Mr *James Howell*, who ſhall have like power and Authority, as other Committees have by the ſaid ſeverall Ordinances; And alſo have power and Authority to call unto them ſuch of the moſt indifferent underſtanding, and ſufficient perſons of every Pariſh within the ſaid city of *Briſtoll* as they ſhall think fit to their aſſiſtance; And ſhall rate and tax the ſaid Weekly Aſſeſſment, charged by this Ordinance upon the Inhabitants, and the owners of goods or other Eſtate there, in ſuch

moderate and proportionable manner as they shall think fit, to and for the maintenance of the said Garrison and Fortifications; As also to have like power to levie the same, and to do all things necessary for the execution of this present Ordinance, as by the said former Ordinance for the Weekly Assessment is appointed; And that what shall be established in *London* by way of Excise or new Impost, upon Wines, Tobacco, or other Commodities, shall be likewise setled in *Bristoll*, towards the maintenance of the said Garrison and Fortifications (there.)

And to the end the Trained Bands or Voluntiers above specified, and the severall division and limits, out of which they shall be raised, may be the better able to perform the services, and discharge the payments before mentioned, It is further Ordained, That no Taxes or payments shalbe levyed or Assessed upon them, other then such as are or shall be Ordered by both Houses of Parliament.

And it is also Ordained, That by the assent and Warrant of Colonell *Fiennes* the Governour of *Bristoll*, and Two or more of the Deputy-Lieutenants, or Committees of Parliament, residing in or neer the said divisions and no other, the Treasurers of the said Divisions and cities shall issue out monies for the use of the said Garrison and Fortifications; And that the said Trained-Bands or Voluntiers shall not be drawn away to other services, then what they are by this Ordinance assigned unto, without the like Warrant as aforesaid; And that by such Warrant they may be at any time drawn out into the said cities of *Bristoll* or *Bath* for the defence thereof.

It is further Ordained, That the said Colonell *Fiennes* Governour of *Bristoll* shall have power to grant Commissions for Trained-Bands; As also for Bands of Voluntiers to be raised within the said cities; And that the same power which was granted by Ordinance of Parliament to the Apprentices and others of *London*, that should be willing to undergo the like service, shall be extended to the said city of *Bristoll*.

And for the securing of the River of *Severn*, and the Seas thereto adjoyning, It is Ordained, That the said Colonell *Fiennes* Governour of *Bristoll*, shall have power likewise to grant Commissions to any Merchants or others that will set out ships, to take any Welsh, Cornish, or Irish Rebells, or any Vessell that shall be imployed, to afford them or any of them any ayd or assistance,

ſtance, and to make prizes thereof, paying a third of all, that ſhall be taken, or ſuch proportion as ſhall be thought fit to the uſe of the *Parliament*.

Laſtly it is ordered, That Col. *Nath: Fiennes*, Governour of *Briſtoll*, *Alexander Popham*, Capt. *John Fiennes*, be added to the ſeverall Committees of the weekly Aſſeſſment, the *Twentieth Part*, and the Committee for Sequeſtrations in the ſeverall Counties of Glocesterſhire and Sommerſetſhire, and in the Cities of *Briſtoll* and *Bath*.

An Approbation of the Ordinance preſented to the Houſe by the Lord Say, *for the ſetling of the Garriſon of Briſtoll, by the principall Gentlemen of Berkly Deviſion in Glocesterſhire.*

VVEe whoſe names are under written, have ſeene the draught of an Ordinance of Parliament, for the ſetling of a Garriſon in the City of *Briſtoll*, and for the contribution and aſſiſtance of the adjacent Counties for the maintenance thereof, which we approve of, and hold very conduceable to the ſecurity both of the City and county, only we deſire that a proviſion may be inſerted, for the defraying of the charges of the Officers and Souldiers of the Trained-bands and Voluntiers, when they ſhall be called to do any ſervice out of the ſeverall Deviſions out of the which they are raiſed, and that *Berkly* Caſtle may be furniſhed with a Garriſon ſufficient for the defence thereof out of the Garriſon of *Briſtoll*; or upon the monies to bee raiſed out of *Berkley* Deviſion.

John Seymour.

Edward Stephens, *Joh: Codrington.*

An Extract out of a Letter from Col: Fiennes *to my Lord Generall, dated March* 20. *upon occaſion of Sir* Will: Wallers *drawing forth Col:* Eſſex's *Regiment out of Briſtoll.*

THe drawing forth of Col: *Eſſex* his whole Regiment may expoſe this City to a great deal of danger, there being not ſo much as one experienced Officer left among the Companies that remain here, and the number and quality of the Common ſouldi-

ers

ers being much disproportionable to the necessity and importance of this place, as in a particular Letter which (with the rest of the Gentlemen of *Sommersetshire*, and *Glouc.* I writ to your Excellency doth more fully appear:) And as I doubt not, but according to the constant care your Excellency hath had of this place, answerable to the importance thereof, your Lordship will provide a person for the government thereof that may be fit to be intrusted with so great a charge; so that your Excellency will also hold it fit that he may have such a command over the forces that shalbe thought fit for the defence of the place, as that he may be able to give a good accompt thereof. I earnestly expect a discharge from your Excellency of that trust, which at present is in my hands, that it may not be left at Random in no bodies hand at all: And that it may be reposed in a hand more fit and able for it; which is the humble desire of

Your Excellencies

Bristoll.
March 20. 1643.

most humble Servant.
Nath: Fiennes.

An Extract of another Letter from Col: Fiennes *to Col:* Hambden, *dated March. the* 19*th.*

I Shall say onely this in generall, that if there be not some speedy course taken that more men may be brought to strengthen the Garrison, and some expert souldiers to command them, this Town in all probability will be lost, and all we that are in it. All that Sir *Wil: Waller* aleadgeth is this; that he being in the Field with a considerable body, doth stand between us and danger: but such a city as this should not be a noun adjective, nor depend upon the fortune or failing of a party in the field, the losse thereof being of greater consequence then of the whole party in the field; I desire that either I may have leave to quitt the charge, (which was my earnest suit to Sir *Wil: Waller* that I might do) or that meanes might be afforded unto me to make it good; I shall appeal to any man that is a souldier, whether there be not need of 3000. men at least to be an ordinary Garrison for this Town with some Troops of horse and Dragoons. *Bristoll* is worth the keeping, and yet in the judgement of any souldier not easie to be kept, though with a good strength of souldiers, but impossible to bee kept with a few; If that it be expected from me to give an accompt

compt of this place, I desire my straw may not be taken from me, and yet so great a tale of Brick be required at my hands.

My Lord,

I Am utterly discouraged in the employment I have here, because I do not see a Way of subsistance for the forces that are here, for I doubt I can expect little money from London, *and all the Wayes whereby I got some heretofore out of Glocestershire and Sommersetshire, will be stopped up and diverted towards the maintenance of Sir* Wil: Wallers *Army, and I shall be left to feed upon the bare stones, and yet Sir* Wil: Waller *at his first coming to this City, drew* 2000 l. *out of it, which if it might be allowed me till a course might be setled for the maintenance of this Garrison, I should have some probability of keeping up the horse and foot that I have, with a great deal of paines raised, without one penny allowance from* London, *but if all draw from me and none help me; I should desire that my Lo: Generall would command me to come to his Army with my Regiment of foot and horse, and that some body else may be put to keepe this Town, that can make it keep it selfe, for I confesse I cannot do it without assistance from the adjacent Counties, or from the Parliament; That which will arise out of the Delinquents estates, will not be considerable; there are not many of any estate, that were in the Conspiracy, and they have found meanes to conceale the greatest part of their estates; and what is visible will bee little more then, what is sufficient to pay their debters; And I perceive the Parliament intend thto allow the payment of debts out of their estates, (which is just that it should be done, so there be care that the State be not deceived by pretended debts, or such as are contracted since the Conspiracy.) My Lord, I cannot long subsist in this employment unless that there be a course t help me with monies, or that power be given me to help my self in this City and the adjacent parts.*

Your Lordships most obedient
Son, *Nath: Fiennes.*

Bristol. Apr. 22.

An Extract of a Letter written from Col: Fiennes *to the Lord* Say, *his Father,* May, 12. 1643.

I Have layed out here, neer 9000. l. since I came to this Town, and I never yet had above 4000 l. from the Parliament; as your Lord-

Lordſhip beſt knowes, all the reſt I have got up my ſelfe with great deal of trouble for the preſervation of this City, which without it had undoubtedly fallen into the hands of the enemy.

An Extract of a Letter from Col: Fiennes to the Lord Say his Father, dated May 13, 1643.

I Am in that extremity for want of money, that I know not what to do, and all the ſprings which formerly afforded me ſupply, are dryed up, for Sir *Wil: Waller* expecteth all out of the counties, and the City will not continue their weekly contribution any longer: If the Propoſitions of joyning a certain Circuit in Sommerſetſhire and Gloceſterſhire to this Towne, as to the maintenance of this Garriſon with money, and men upon occaſion, might be granted, I ſhould hope by the grace of God to give a good accompt of this City and the adjacent parts; And I am confident there is no objection againſt them, but what ariſeth out of particular reſpects to the prejudice of the publick intereſt, unleſſe thoſe Propoſitions may be admitted, or a continuall ſupply granted from *London*, (which I cannot expect:) all that I build here is without a foundation, and muſt needs fall to the ground, and this Town into the hands of the enemy.

An Extract out of a Letter from Col: Fiennes to my Lord Say his Father, June 9: 1643.

THe Lord deliver me from the condition wherein I am, that I ſhould have the charge of a Town of ſuch importance as this is upon me, & neither have men halfe enough to maintain it, nor mony to maintain thoſe men I have, nor means afforded me to raiſe any mony, I beſeech your Lordſhip diſpatch unto me by order of the Houſe, a power to rate Malignants and Neutralls at the 20th part of their eſtate; If I had but this I might be able to raiſe ſome monies (although not ſufficient) for the Garriſon, unleſſe the adjacent counties come in to our aſſiſtance; and it is all the reaſon in the world that Gloceſterſhire ſhould maintaine one Regiment in this City, Sommerſet another, and the City, with the help of Wiltſhire another; if ſome ſuch courſe were ſettled, I ſhould have leſſe recourſe to ſupplies from *London*, till then I muſt, or this Town muſt be loſt, and all that is in it, and all that depend upon it, which will not ſo ſoone be recollected againe.

An

An Extract of another Letter written to the Lord Say, June 17. 1643.

MY Lord I much wonder that any ſhould conceive the eſtates of the Conſpirators any thing conſideable, in reſpect of the great charge I am conſtantly at, being to pay 1500 foot, a Regiment of Horſe, and a company of Dragoones, and a hundred Gunners, beſides workmen upon the Fortifications; ſo that I have beene ſometimes at 1300. l. ſometimes at 1200. l. ſeldome under 1000. l. a weeke; and I ſhall never make 3000. l. from the beginning to the end out of the Conſpirators eſtates, there being never a rich man amongſt them; and their Creditors claiming and carrying away the greateſt part of what is not abroad conveyed away, or ſo concealed that I cannot find it out; and I can aſſure your Lordſhip I have already received and ſpent the moſt of what I am to expect that way, otherwiſe I had not beene able to have ſubſiſted halfe this time: It were folly in me to conceale that which will prove the truth, if out of the conceipt of the riches of *Briſtoll* (which ſince the ſtop of trade, and many Malignants withdrawing their eſtates, is much otherwiſe then is conceived by ſome) I am left to maintaine this Garriſon, without aſſiſtance from the Countries or from ſome other way, I ſhall not be able to keepe my men together for a fortnight: for my part I ſhall deſire to be diſcharged of the truſt, unleſſe I may have means to diſcharge it with honour to my ſelfe, and ſafety to the City and countries adjacent; I am confident they are their owne greateſt enemies that oppoſe my propoſitions for the ſetling this Garriſon, and that if they have their wils, they will quickly ſee this City fall into the enemies hands, and ſo have a perpetuall yoke, to the Counties of *Glouceſter* and *Sommerſet*; I ſhall muſter up all the patience that is in me, but I cannot hold out long in that manner that I have done; Sir *William Waller* hath now a good ſtrength about him, eſpecially of Horſe, and for ought that I ſee the enemy will fight with him, I muſt confeſſe I doubt the ſucceſſe, unleſſe it come extraordinarily from God, as formerly it hath done.

Another Extract of a Letter of Iune 24.

MY Lord I have ever since I came to this City, beene in a troublesome and very oft in a dangerous condition, but I am like to be put to it now more then ever, and had I not had experience of Gods mercy to me in times of streights, my faith would welnigh faile me. I will not write the particulars whereon I ground this apprehension of my condition, not knowing into what hands this Letter may come, but only in generall I will say thus much, That happily the support that this City and all the rest seemes to relye on (which is Sir *William Wallers* army) may faile us, but God will never faile us. At the last Rendesvouz that Sir *William Waller* had of his horse, there appeared betweene two and three thousand horse, a brave body of horse, &c.

Another Extract of a Letter of July 8. 1643. *Sent by the same Col.* Fines *to my Lord* Say *his Father.*

I Beseech your Lordship to cause my Ordinance for the setling of a garrison at *Bristoll* to bee dispatched; me thinks there should be no stop of it now that I have sent an approbation thereof, under the hands of all those considerable Gentlemen that live in those parts whereon the burthen is principally to lye; your Lordship cannot imagine what difficulties I am put upon for want of that Ordinance, and if God had not given my Souldiers and Officers a great deale of patience, we must needs have fallen all to pieces by this time; and this day I am in as great necessity as ever, and do live every day but from hand to mouth. I am sure all my Propositions have no other aime but the publick good. I beseech your Lordship againe to hasten the dispatch of that Ordinance which is in hand, & in the mean time being a very beggar, I must still beg for supplyes of money.

A Letter written by Sir W. Waller *and Sir* Arthur Haslerigge *to Mr.* John Ashe, *to hasten forces out of* Bristol *unto them, Whereupon* 1200 *was sent.*

Good Sir,

SUre you think we have both a lame and a patient enemy, that will be knockt and stay till we be ready to answer his returne.

We

We expected Col. *Fines* Regiment this day, and now I heare that he appointed that Sir *John Seymors* men should not come to *Briſtoll* before Monday, and then we are to expect ours. Upon Tuſeday we think the Enemy will fall on this night, if not to morrow morning; and if ſo, what good will this Regiment do *Briſtoll*, if we periſh. It is a wonder to me to ſee our friends delay helpe when there in ſafety; and I am confident, Honour is wrapt up in our ſucceſſe. It is ſaid your Captains have not yet caſt lots who ſhall come forth; I thought they would have petitioned for the imployment. We ſhall be happy in Col. *Pophams* Regiment, and Col. *Fines* alſo; ſurely a ſmall guard will keep under the Malignants, we being ſo neare. Let not the weſt of *England* be loſt for a little monies, neither ſend your ſupplies too late. There is a time which wiſe-men do not let ſlippe. It is ſtrange to me, that theſe Forces have not long ſince been drawne out. What forces you ſend us, let us have them with all ſpeed. It grieves our hearts you are no more ſenſible of our preſent condition, and the nearneſſe and ſtrength of the Enemy. We have done our duties, the Lord direct you. We are

July 1. 1643. *Your Servants,*

William Waller. Art. Haſilrige.

A Copie of the Reſult of the Councell of Warre held by the Enemies, concerning the Aſſaulting of the City of *Briſtoll*, found in Colonel *Bucks* pocket that was there ſlaine, with divers other Officers and Gentlemen of qualitie.

At the Councell of Warre held at Knowle, *neare* Briſtoll, *the five Somerſet. and twentieth day of July*, 1643

Their Highneſſe Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice*. *Preſent.*

Earle of Carnarvon.
Sir John Biron.
Serjeant Major Generall Wagſtaffe.
Sir Richard Cave.
Sir William Ogle.
Sir Richard Slanning.
Collonell Buck.
Collonell Baſſet.
Lieutenant Col. Aſhtley.
Lieutenant Col. Oneale.

Queſtion.

Queſtion.

WHether it be beſt to aſſault, or approach the City of *Briſtoll?*

Reſolution.

It is reſolved by the whole Councell of Warre for divers reaſons, that it ſhall be aſſaulted by both the Armies on all ſides, according to the beſt skill and diſcretion of the Commanders in chiefe that are to fall on.

Orders.

It is ordered that the houre appointed for them to fall on, ſhall be to morrow morning, juſt at the breake of day: The word for the Souldiers to be *Oxford*; and the ſigne betweene the two Armies, whereby to know each other, to be greene colours, either bowes, or ſuch like, and that every Officer and Souldier be without any band or hand-cherchiefe about his neck.

That the Collonels of the ſeverall Brigads as ſoone as they ſhall have entred the Enemies Workes, ſhall preſently appoint ſome to throw downe the Breſt-workes, and fill up the ditches in ſeverall places where they enter, or other places more convenient for the entrance of our Horſe (if occaſion require.)

That the Commanders in Chiefe of the ſeverall Brigads doe agree between themſelves in what manner *Ratcliffe* Church ſhal be poſſeſſed, and if poſſeſſed, how maintained; and that they appoint certaine Officers for that purpoſe.

That the Generall of the Ordnance give ſpeciall order, that all the Souldiers be furniſhed with all kind of Amunition, and that ſeverall Officers be by him appointed to attend the ſeverall Brigads with Amunition during the Aſſault, as alſo that the Artillary, and the Officers thereto belonging, be ordered to be readie upon all Commands.

FINIS.

Ex. per Geo. Trym. Secr.

K. P. London

Numb. 7.

THE PARLIAMENT SCOUT:

Communicating His Intelligence TO THE KINGDOME.

From *Thursday* the 3. of *August*, to *Thursday* the 10. of *August*. 1643.

THe Lord Generall is now at *Kingston*, our Scout attended him at Uxbridge the latter end of the last weeke; his Army is very small, and the halfe of that small number sick; they are not four thousand horse and foot: It were to be desired that the sick were from the whole, and that they were all cloathed anew, for there is much infection in their cloathes, the scent of them deading a mans spirits that comes fresh among them; and then it will do well to have them made a compleat

which to doe, ſome told our Scout that it was neceſſary divers ſuſpicious and ſuperfluous Officers ſhould be removed, but that cannot be granted unleſſe they be found upon triall unworthy, but that being impoſſible, the other is like to be as impoſſible, however, be aſſured of his Excellencies faithfulneſſe, courage, and activity: diſcontents are as good as over, between thoſe in his Armie, Sir *William Waller*, and the City; his Excellency being of that ſweet nature and conſtancy for the Cauſe, that he can forget both the affronts and mutability of the multitude, whoſe cuſtome he knowes to be to crie up, and crie downe, not upon weighty grounds, but as ſome one begins, ſo all the reſt follow: That he might confirme this to all men, he condiſcended to the requeſts of thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, that went to him, aſſuring them, that they ſhould command him, in any thing that might ſtand with the advance of the Weale of the Kingdom to the moſt advantage, and ſo gave Sir *William Waller* a Commiſſion, and made him Serjeant Major of the Forces to be raiſed in London, and parts about, and intends him what further ſhall be deſired, in a ſubordinate way to himſelfe, for the compleating any deſigne he ſhall be put upon: So that in all probability Sir *William Waller* will be upon his march Weſtward, and my Lord Generall recruted ſo, as to be able to ſend him releiſe upon all occaſions, and to ſtop the enemy, in caſe he come for Kent, there being daily good numbers come in, and liſt themſelves under Sir *William Wallers* Officers; and in caſe there ſhould not be enough, there are men to be Preſt, with the neceſſity of things inforced, and is practiſed by the other Party, and whereas it is conceived that theſe will not ſtand and fight, the contrary hath beene found by experience, they being under the command of Commanders that are right, the Souldier will ſuddenly be moulded into the diſpoſition of his Commander, for its the Commanders that corrupts the Souldiers,

diers, not the Souldiers them; whence see the necessity of right and valiant commanders: besides this Presse, if it be discreetly and without partiality carried along, a great many dangerous persons will be sent out of the City, either flying to prevent the Presse, or sent away by the Presse, which will much conduce to the safety of the City and parts about.

The businesse of Parliament since our last, hath been chiefly about Propositions for an accord with his Majesty, and to put an end to these Civill wars; a thing that no good man can be against, and continue to be good: The question onely is about the time, and the termes, for the time it is conceived by some, that some times are unseasonable, and that in these cases, when the people upon the apprehension grow cold, withdraw contributions and lay downe Armes, whereas Treaties rightly undertaken, should have an increase of all these go along with them; becaus the more the Armies increase, the better conditions may begot: For the termes, there is a necessity that the Treatie consist of such Propositions, as may bring about the maine thing so long stood upon; and for which all these troubles have been, which is an assurance that those under his Majestie for time coming shall be such, as shall studie the advancement of the Protestant Religion abroad and at home; and the Liberties of this Kingdome: and what assurance can be expected more now then before this Parliament, let all the world judge, if the same, or such like persons be imployed.

Our Scout you know told you sad newes last weeke out of the West, as the losse of Bristoll, &c. for which losse we are in expectation of a satisfactory Declarati-

on; which some say is to this effect, that they slew a thousand men, with the losse of ten men; which our Scout thinkes strange at, for he conceives that this had been a good argument of incouragement to hold out the Town, he killed the Bear and the Lyon, therefore these uncircumsised; another is, the women and children cried, and all the people could not go into the Castle; but sure when it comes in Print you will have better satisfaction; since the enemy hath scattered at pleasure, going into Dorsetshire, with part of his Forces, and hath surprized the Town of Dorchester, which hath been fortifying this 12. moneths more or lesse; but it seems the Governours were absent with most of their Forces, who upon notice that this Towne was taken (Country like) threw down their Muskets & ran so many men, so many wayes, the horse being more nimble, retreated to Gilford, being 120. their Colonell Sir *Walter Earle* being returned to London: the enemy hath possessed himselfe of that whole County also, and with one other party is said to be before Gloster, which place gives us as much hope of standing out as Bristoll did, but whither it will faile us in our expectations we know not, yet in regard the Governour is knowne to be a Souldier, and valiant, it addes to our hopes: if our Scout can get in, he intends to carry them these Arguments to incourage them: First, that if they fall into the hands of the enemie, they must expect nothing but misery, for neither corne nor grasse grows where they come, Redding can tell them as much, and Shrewsbury, two of the richest Towns in England, before they left them, they were miserable spectacles. Secondly, that if they be courageous, they may waste the enemy, and as good as conquer him, which will present them glorious to posteritie,

ſteritie: and laſtly, that if they hold out but three weekes, they ſhall have reliefe, mauger all *Achitophels* in England: The City of Exeter; whole valour and conſtancie, muſt give place to no Citie or Towne in England, having for many weekes ſtood out againſt the enemy: we hope God will redeeme from bondage ſuch Worthies, and at laſt give them deliverance, which to accompliſh, that unparalelled Earle of Warwicke will not be wanting: halfe one hundred ſuch Lords would make England the glory and terrour of the world.

From the North: our Scout brings little, the Scots are in Treaty with our Commiſſioners in all probabilitie, and he doubts not but to give you a good account of that buſineſſe, and that you ſhall ſee that Nation be the ballancing power, and put an end to our diſtractions, which as we hope, ſo the enemy feares, which makes them ſo poſt at this time, both in proſecution of the Warre, and in overtures of peace; we finde Newcaſtle, and all the adjacent places whence Coales come to be ſo blockt up by water, there can be no comming to ſubdue thoſe parts, and regaine that Trade but by a Land power: The Lord *Fairefaxe* wee cannot ſay of certaine hath given any defeate to the remainiug Forces of Newcaſtle; but this we are certaine of, that hee ſent out his Sonne to that purpoſe, and that the Guns were heard to goe off; the Lord Newcaſtles maine body is on this ſide the Trent, and that he is not yet advanced towards Cambridge. onely they report that hee will ſuddenly doe it; he, its conceived, ſtayes for to ſee the Town of Gainsborough and Newarke well Gariſoned and Fortified: The Lord *Willoughbie* of Parham, and others in Lincolne conceiving themſelves not able

to hold that Citie againſt the enemies power, are retreated to Boſton, by which meanes they have re-inforſt that Garriſon, a place more conſiderable. Colonell *Cromwell*, notwithſtanding all his encounters with ſo potent an enemy, is retreated to Stamford, and Peterborough with his Regiment of horſe and foote, being yet nine hundred foote, and ſixe hundred horſe: hee ſollicites a formidable army, for the defence of that aſſociation, and to oppoſe the enemie, which is hoped in three weekes may be got together, which the Countries will willingly contributed to the maintenance of, the neceſſitie of which buſineſſe, requires equall care to be taken for, with any other Deſigne whatſoever.

The renowned Mancheſterians have ſent out ſome Forces towards Yorkeſhire to take in ſome ſmall places upon the Frontyers, now in the enemies hands; in Cheſhire all is ſtill, the City is wholly Royall, the Countrey at the Devotion of the Parliament; beſides, there are Commiſſioners gone to Scotland to raiſe Forces, to ſubdue the armies now againſt the Parliament, with promiſes at leaſt that no accord ſhall bee made, but ſuch as ſhall not be to their diſadvantage, and therefore it may be thought neceſſary, that a treaty bee not taken up without their privity, if not without their conſent, much leſſe proceeded in, or conclude before they know of it.

There are great numbers going beyond Seas, and ſome ſay it is permitted, others that it is inhibited; this is a buſineſſe which ought to be lookt into very narrowly, for beſides the diſcouragement of the party, the incouragement of the enemy; there will be a decay of Trade, a want of ſupply to the Armies, and it will diſ-

hearten

hearten friends abroad, who were comming on to us; ſome with their ſwords, others with their purſes.

There hath been ſeverall appearances or apparitions at Weſtminſter, from the City and parts about: one appearance was of Common Counſell, not againſt peace, but ſuch a peace as might deſtroy: there were divers appeared among theſe, that did ſpeake unadviſed words to the Lords, had that been true that was ſpoke, truth is not to be ſpoken at all times, and in all manners: there is no queſtion but people may appeare in multitudes to Petition for redreſſe in caſe injuſtice be done: yet that rarely, and in deſperate caſes, but for multitudes to appeare to extort or fright a judicature to do juſtice is queſtionable: There appeared ſince many hundreds of women who crie for peace, and ſwears by the blood of Chriſt, and God confound them they will have peace, or ſomebody ſhall ſmart for it: Theſe were very numerous; on Wedneſday many conceived them five or ſix thouſand, ſome ſay 500 of them were whores: they are all of the poorer ſort, and moſt have their husbands in the one or other Army, who fall upon all that have ſhort haire and pull them, both Miniſters, Souldiers and others, this grew ſo high, and the multitude preſt ſo hard, that from words they fell to b'owes; there were divers hurt, two men and a woman killed, at laſt a Troope of horſe came with Kanes and drove them all away: Thus we ſee, to permit abſurdities, is the way to increaſe them; Tumults are dangerous, ſwords in womens hands doe deſperate things; this is begotten in the diſtractions of Civill War.

The Houſe of Commons have agreed upon a Counſell of War, for the managing of the War in generall,

it

it were to be wiſhed that they might attend that buſineſſe onely and nothing elſe, for it is of moſt concernment, and for defect there, the proceedings have been ſo ſtrange.

We are made beleeve by our Scout, that the Treaty of Pacification is broke off in Ireland, and that the Marqueſſe of *Ormond* is again in the field againſt the Rebels, but we dare hardly beleeve him, in regard it is ſo far off, and beſides we thinke that if they did little formerly, they will doe leſſe now: onely this we beleeve, that the Scots play their parts like men and drive the Rebells before them, which puts us in hope that they with the aſhes of the maſſacred Engliſh may in time drive out that cruell enemy, & it be may be fore their brethren now in the Royall Army will be ſpared to take ſhipping at Briſtoll to help them; & if Ireland ſhould be regained and live, that was dead, let none deſpaire nor flie, for England its probable may have good termes at laſt: So that the Kings Majeſtie may be ſure of his right, Religion eſtabliſhed to the content of Both; and the people all aſſured they ſhall injoy their Liberties and eſtates, without after diſturbance or deminution.

This is Licenſed and Entred in the Hall booke according to order.

Printed by *G. Biſhop*, and *R. White*.

SOME SMALL 14
AND SIMPLE REASONS,

Delivered in a Hollow-Tree, in *Waltham* Forreſt, in a Lecture, on the 33. of *March* laſt.

BY

AMINADAB BLOWER
A devout Bellowſ-mender of
PIMLICO.

SHEWING

The cauſes in generall and particular wherefore they doe, might, would, ſhould, or ought, except againſt and quite refuſe the Liturgy or Book of Common-Prayer.

Exon
Aug: PRINTED, 1643
Anno *Millimo*, *Quillimo*, *Trillimo*.
1643

Some ſmall and Simple Reaſons, delivered in a Hollow Tree in *Waltham* Forreſt, in a Lecture, on the 33. of *March* laſt.

MY Dear-beloved, and Zealous Brethren and Siſters here Aſſembled in this holy Congregation, I am to unfold, unravell, untwiſt, unty, unlooſe, and undoe to your uncapable underſtandings, ſome ſmall Reaſons, the Matter, the Cauſes, the Motives, the Grounds, the Principles, the Maxims, the whyes and the wherefores, wherefore and why, we reject, omit, abandon, contemne, deſpiſe, and are and ought to be withſtanders and oppoſers of the Service-book, (called by the hard name of *Liturgy*) or Common-prayer, which hath continued in the Church of *England* 84. yeeres.

I have exactly examined and collected ſome Notes and obſervations out of the Learned Hebrew tranſlated volumes of Rabby *Ananias*, Rabby *Achitophel*, Rabby *Iſcariot*, Rabby *Simon Magus*, Rabby *Demas*, and Rabby *Alexander* the Copperſmith, and all nor any of their writings doth in any place ſo much as mention that Book, or any ſuch kind of Service to be uſed all by them; I have farther taken paines in looking over ſome *Caldean*, *Perſian*, *Egyptian*, *Arabian*, and *Arminian* Authors (of which I underſtood not one word) I alſo (with the like diligence and underſtanding have viewed the Turkiſh *Alacron*, and there I found not any ſyllable concerning either *Liturgie*, Common-prayer or Divine Service. As for Greek Authors I muſt confeſſe I underſtand them not (or negatively) for which Reaſon I leave them, as impertinnet, and touching the Latine Writers, they are partiall in this caſe, the tongue being *Romanian*, and the Idiome is *Babiloniſh*, which ſeems to me an Intricate confuſion.

I having carefully veiwed the Tomes and Tenets of Religion, and books of all manner of Hierogliphicks, writings, Scrolles, Tallies, Scores and Characters, and finding nothing for the maintaining of that Booke or *Liturgie*, I lookt into the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory, written by one *Euſibius*, and another fellow they call *Socrates*, wherein I found many Arguments and Incitements to move men

men to such doctrine as is compriſed and compiled in the *Liturgie*. After that I ſearched into the *Acts* and *Monuments* of this Kingdome, written by old *Fox* and there I found that the Compoſers of it were Biſhops and Doctors, and great learned Schollers men of unſained Integrity, of Impregnable Conſtancy, who with invincible Faith ſuffered moſt Glorious Martyrdome by the Papall Tyranny, for the writing and maintaining that Book, with the true Proteſtant Religion contained in it.

Brethren, I muſt confeſſe that I was ſomewhat puzzled in my mind at theſe things, and I could not be ſatisfied till I had conſulted with ſome of our devout Brothers our brother *How* the Cobler was the firſt I brake my mind to and we adviſed to call or ſummon a *Synod* to be held in my Lord *Brooks* Stable (the Reverend *Spencer*, the ſtable Groome being the Metropolitan there. At our meeting there was *Greene* the Felt-maker, *Barebones* the Leatherſeller, *Squire* the Taylor, with *Hoare* a Weaver, & *Davison* a Bonelace-maker of *Meſſenden*, & *Paul Hickson* of *Wickham* Taylor with ſome foure or five Bakers dozzens of Weavers, Millers, Tinkers, Botchers, Broomemen Porters, of all Trades, many of them bringing notes with them fitting for our purpoſe, which notes they had taken carefully from the inſtructions of the demi-martyrs and round and Sound Confeſſors, St. *B*. St. *P*. and St. *B*. out of which (with our owne Capacities and ingenuities to boot) we have collected and gathered, theſe found and infallible objections againſt the Book of Common-Prayer, or *Liturgie*, as followeth.

For our owne parts (my Brethren) it is for the Reputation and Honour of our Holy Cauſe and Calling to conteſt, maligne and cavill, where we are not able either to convince by Reaſons or Arguments; therefore I having trac'd the Booke from end to end, and yet (upon the matter) to no end for ſuch ends as we would conclude upon, I find nothing in it diſagreeing to Gods word or or agreeing with our doctrine. The firſt prayer called the Confeſſion, is quite contrary to our appetites and profeſſion, for to confeſſe that *Wee have erred and ſtrayed like loſt Sheep*, is to acknowledge our ſelves to ſilly horned Beaſts and Cuckolds, our Children (by that reckoning ſhould be *Lambes*, our Wives *Ewes* and we (their innocent husbands) muſt be *Rams*; and every Lay Preacher, or Preaching Treademen would be accounted a *Bellwheather* to the flocke or Heard

Neither do we think it fit to make our ſelves appear ſo weak witted or Puſillanimious as to confeſſe that *We have left undone thoſe things Which we ought to have done, & done thoſe things which we ought not to have done*, for ſuch a confeſſion will lay open our Diſloyalty our Intruſion our Tranſgreſſions, Rebellions, and Treaſons we ſhall therein acknowledge our ſelves, by omitting of du-

ties, and committing of Villanies in Churchand State, do deserve justly the severity of God, and the Kings Lawes to be our deserved Wages: besides, we hold it to be a retractive deminishing of valour, a Popish kind of Cowardly Effeminate submission, which our stout hearts, stiffe necks, and stubborne knees will never stoop or bow to, for the old Proverb is *Confesse and be, &c.*

Concerning the second Prayer (called the Absolution) for the remission of sinnes through Christ, though Christ hath given power and commandement (to his lawfull Ministers) to declare and pronounce in his Name to all true repenting sinners, the absolution and remission of their sinnes yet we will not beleeve it to be available, but esteeme it as Popish and Superstitious.

As for the *Lords Prayer*, which the *Papists* call by the *Romish* or *latine* name of *Pater Noster* we must confesse it is Pithy and short but had our advices beene at the making of it, it should have beene two yards and a halfe longer, (by *Londons* measure) besides we would like it better if it were not Commanded or enjoyned upon us. *Mat.* 6. 9. and *Luk.* 11. 2. for our faiths cannot brook to be limited within the compasse of any Command, Decree, Edict, Law, Statute, Order, Rule, Ordinance, Government, or Authority, either of God or the King; besides, in that prayer there is mention made of *forgiving such as Trespasse against us*, which our Doctrine or Natures cannot incline to, for we doe never remember a good turne and very seldome or never forget or forgive Injury. Therefore for these considerable Causes (and many more) we think it requisite to forbeare that brief Prayer, and zealously to advance the Altitude of our spacious Eares, to receive the longitude of a three houres repetition for our more fortifying Edification.

Thirdly, for the desiring the *Lord to open our lips that our mouths might shew forth his praise*: it is known that we can doe that extempory (by the spirit) and it belongs to our Teacher to open his lips and pray, but it is our parts to give spirituall attention, and not to open our lips but onely at the singing of old *Robert Wisdomes* Madrigall, or the like. And whereas we are commmanded to stand at the saying of *Gloria Patri*, to avoid that Ceremony, we hold it best not to say it at all.

As for the 95. *Psalme* (*or, O come let us sing, &c.*) we object against it for two Reasons, the one is of falling downe and worshipping and kneeling; and the other is, we will neither kneel, fall downe or worship, because it is an expression of humility and reverence which we utterly refuse to give either to God or man. As for the order of reading the first *Lesson*, we could like it better if it were not so ordered; It were necessary we had freedome to read what when and where we list (for order is odious) and whereas there is appointed a *Hymne*, called by a latine name, *Te Deum laudamus*, we doe conceive the matter

matter of it to be very good, but that it was compoſed by a Biſhop (one *Ambroſe*) of a City and Province in *Italy* called *Millaine*, and that the ſaid *Ambroſe* was not onely a Biſhop, but (for his godly life and holy writings) he was made a Saint; for theſe cauſes we leave him and his Hymne to, as being too much conformable to edification, decency, order and obedience

Likewiſe the ſecond *Leſſon* may be read, but not that which is appointed for the day, for (as is aforeſaid) we cannot abide any thing that is appointed or ordered by Authority, that our Conſciences being at liberty we may the more freely ſhew our ſelves the lawleſſe ſonnes and daughters of confuſion.

And though it hath beene a cuſtome very ſignificant (and as ancient as the primitive times of Chriſtian Religion) to repeat the Articles of the Beleife ſtanding, our underſtanding, notwithſtanding, doth withſtand that kind of Poſture, for no other reaſon, but becauſe the Church ordain'd it, and the Law commands it; and truly we doe know no ſence or Reaſon to ſtand to any ſaying of *Fauth*, for it is one of our principles *that whatſoever we ſay we will ſtand to nothing*.

Next followeth the Lords prayer againe (as the Proteſtants call it) and a prayer compoſed of *Verſicles*, wherein the Miniſter and People, do (as it were by Queſtions Anſwers) deſire *Gods mercy, and the granting of ſalvation*, after which they pray *O Lord ſave the King*, which is by us wonderfully diſlik't and omitted, and when we are to render the cauſe of it, we ſhall not want inſufficient Anſwers which we have ſtudiouſly pondered in the learned Colledges of *Amſterdam*, and *New-England*. Then there followeth, *Give Peace in our time O Lord*, which we utterly deteſt, for if once that Prayer be granted, many of us (except the King be more mercifull then we deſerve) ſhall be hanged for rebellion and treaſon (and glad we ſcape ſo too) the beſt we can look for is the advancing againe the Proteſtant Religion, and then downe goe we with all our ſpirituall inſpirations and Long-winded Repetitions, we ſhall be ſilenced (which is a terrible torture) or baniſh't from our zealous Siſters, our Collections and Contributions will be abrogated and annihillated, our Puddings and Plum-broth will be in the forlorne hope, and our ſelves excluded, extirpated, exiled, excommunicated, as extraordinary, extravigant, unexampled Raſcals and Coxcombes for theſe conſiderations of martiall validity, weight, and deep conſequence (altogether Repugnant and Malignant to our holy profeſſion of *Brownſme* and *Anabaptiſme*) we will neither have Peace (although we dare not fight in warre) no Peace Pie pray for, therefore good brethren, I pray you no prayer for Peace.

And for ſaying, *God make our hearts cleane within us, and take not thy holy Spirit from us*; theſe words are impertinent for us to ſpeak, for we know our

hearts to be cleane and pure already, and for the Spirit, it is tyed so fast to us that it cannot be taken from us, or from any that will beleeve us.

For the Evening prayer, there is one Collect for Peace, and another for the enlightning of our darkneſſe; we have already declared our minds, though all the world knowes us to be Hipocrites, yet we doe know that a godly loyall peace will confound us, therfore we will not Hypocritically pray for that which we deſire not to have; and for our darkeneſſe though it be palpable to be felt (like the darkneſſe of *Ægypt*, yea more darke then Ignorance it ſelfe) yet we, have by inſtigation found *light* in abundandance. our weights are *light*, our Mothers, Wives, Siſters, Aunts, Neeces, Daughters and female ſervants are *light*, our inviſible Hornes are *light*, our Words Deeds, Thoughts, Conciences, payment of debt, and Religion is *light* (or of *light* account) our faith in God and loyalty to the King, are moſt Tranſlucently *light*, Apparantly *light*, Reſulgently *light*, Illuſtrately *light*, Tranſparently *light*, Internally *light*, Externally *light*, Infernally *light*, Emblazoned, Perſpicuated, Cognominated, Propogated, and Promulgated to all the world to be *light* lighter then any thing that can be called lightneſſe) lighter then Vapour, Ayre, Smoak, Flame, Duſt, Chaffe, Wind, Feather, Froath, Cork, Yeaſt, Fogge, Putte, Blaſt, a Whore, Vanity, yea more *light* then Vanity it ſelfe.

As concerning *Quicunque Vult* (or whoſoever will be ſaved) it is an argument that he that will be, may be, and he that will not may chuſe whether he will or no, which implies a free will (a very Popiſh concluſion) alſo that Creed is concluded to be called *Catholicke*, which word we like not,

Next followeth the *Latine*, which is a hard word to us, and ſounds in our ſpacious Eares as it were *latine* (or the Beaſts language) we confeſſe there are ſome few ſentences, that may be tolerated, but we ought to remember our ſelves and take heed, that we avoid praying againſt fornication, ſedition, Conſpiracy, falſe Doctrines, Hereſie, hardneſſe of heart, and contempt of Gods Word and Commandement; for you know Brethren, that theſe are daily and nightly Contemplations, and Recreations; beſides it ſeemes to be a ſwearing kind of Invocation (As) *By the Incarnation, by* the *Nativity and Circumciſion Baptiſme, Faſting, Temptation, Agony, Bloody ſweat, Croſſe, Paſſion, Death, Buriall, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, and comming of the Holy Ghoſt* (All which is moſt certainly true) but we ought to find out ſome other *By word* then the word *By*, for though by them all true Beleevers are ſaved, yet that is no warrant or argument we ſhould ſweare by them.

Then there is praying that the Church may be ruled and governed in the right way, which if that be granted, what will become of us that doe know our ſelves to be none of the true Church, therefore that prayer belongs not to us.

Then

Then followeth beſeechings for bleſſings to be upon the King, Queen, and Royall Poſterity, and that they may have Victory over all their Enemies, and all the World knowes we are none of their friends, therefore theſe prayers are *Apocryphy* to us, neither will we be ſo ſimple to pray againſt our ſelves and the Caſe is plain that Rebellion muſt be tamed before the King can be victorious.

Then followes praying for *Biſhops* (whom we cannot abide, nor can we ſhew wherefore) and amongſt the reſt there is a prayer *for all women labouring with child*, in which prayer many a looſe harlot may be comprehended, therefore it had been fitter to have prayed *for all women labouring of child lawfully begotten*, for verily it is ſinfull to pray for either Root Stock, Lim, Bough, Branch, Sprigge, Leafe, Fruit or ſeed of the wicked. I like well of the laſt verſe (except one) of this ſame Latine, wherein we pray, *that the fruits of the earth may be given and preſerved to our uſe* (but with this proviſo) that we alone and none but we (who labour in the holy Cauſe) *ſhould enjoy them in due time*, or at any time.

Then there are prayers for Mercy, for Grace, for Defence & victory in war, for preſervation from Plague and Peſtilence, for Biſhops againe, and Curates, for Raine for faire weather, for Reliefe in dearth and famine; then there followeth 84. things which they call Collects, wherein many holy Saints are Remembred on certaine peculiar dayes, and though we can juſtly find nothing but what is agreeable to Gods word in the whole *Liturgy*, yet the purity of our ſingular Doctrines doe hold it prophane and Popiſh for we have the Spirit to prompt us, inſomuch as our grave Patriots have lately thought it fit to unſaint all the Saints, and all the Churches and Houſes of God in *London*, have been theſe many monthes diſrobed of their Sanctimonious names, and are all excommunicated out of the weekly diſeaſed Bill; for now the Churches are to be called no more St. *John*, St. *Peter*, but *Peters*, *Andrews*, *James*, *Johns*, *Georges*, Church or Pariſh, with ſo many dyed of ſuch and ſuch diſeaſes, or by caſualty ſuch or ſuch a Raſcall hang'd himſelfe, for playing a *Judas* part againſt his Soveraigne.

Next followeth the ten Commandements (which we neglect to ſay) becauſe they are of the old Teſtament, and the Law was given to the *Jewes*, we that are Chriſtians are freed from it by the Goſpell; beſides it is ſaid to have two Tables, one ſhewing our duty towards God the others towards man, concerning the firſt of them we hold our ſelves cleare from Idolatry, ſwearing and prophanation; for the ſecond, we conceive it not to bind us either to give honour to the King or Magiſtrates (they being the Fathers and Protectors of our Country, Wealth, eſtates, and all we enjoy under God) nor to our naturall Parents, if they be not of our faith.

At

At the Communion there are prayers for the King againe, and the Beliefe, vvith Repeating ſome portions of Scripture to move men to Charity and good vvorks all vvhich vve omit, for onely *Faith* is our practice, and for good vvorks, or Charity, vve hold it to be unneceſſary, and therefore vve vvill neither uſe or doe any: Neither will we receive lying, ſtanding, ſitting, nor kneeling (by any meanes) nor any way that is commanded by order, in what place or Country whatſoever; as for publike or private Baptiſme, vve are able to doe that our ſelves, either in a Baſon a River, a Brook, a Pond, a Pool, a Ditch or a Puddle, nor doe we hold it fitting but that we be Godfathers and Godmothers to our Children our ſelves, and call them what Scripture names we liſt. Nay, we will Church our wives our ſelves too. And as for Matrimony we will ſave that charges, and take one anothers words, for we muſt take our wives vvords for our Children, and vvhy not for themſelves, as for the viſitation of the ſicke and Buriall of the dead they are both fit to be done, the one is neceſſary, becauſe the Brethren and Siſters may meet and ſalute and Feaſt.

And as for the Buriall of the dead the caſe is all mens, beſides Boyes, vvomen and Children, but a grave and learned long ſtanding Lecturer did lately find out the right vvay of Buriall; for an old man that dyed in the Pariſh of St. *James* neer the Dukes place vvithin *Aldgate*, at vvhich Funerall he Preached, and in his Sermon he told the dead man his faults very Roundly, and abuſed the Corps more for ten ſhillings then any Conformable Preacher vvould have done for twenty, and vvhen he came to the laying the Body in the Ground, he ommitted all old order and Ceremonies of Buriall, onely thus briefly he ſaid,

Aſhes to Aſhes, duſt to duſt,
Here's the Hole and in thou muſt.

So there's an end, and an end of my Lecture.

A Poſcript.

IT is humbly deſired that the Reader do not cenſure the Writer with any thought, or touch of Prophanity, for in this foregoing diſcourſe he hath onely diſciphered the fooliſh Grounds, Tenets which the Teachers of the Peſtilent Sects of *Schiſmatiques*, and *Separatiſts*, doe hold and maintaine.

Yours, *J. T.*

FINIS.